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**ART. I.—***Quelle Influence ont les diverses Espèces d'Impôts sur la Moralité, &c. &c.*

*What is the Influence of the different Species of Taxation on the Morality, the Activity, and the Industry of Nations? By M. de Monthion, formerly Counsellor of State. Paris, 1808. London, Dulau, 8vo. 9s.*

AS this is one of the most important subjects which, in the present state of society, and particularly in this country, can occupy the minds of statesmen or philosophers, we shall make no apology for considering it at considerable length. The operations of finance may seem at first sight to be confined within a very narrow sphere;—for what is finance, in vulgar estimation, but the taking of so much money out of the pockets of the people, to put into a large receptacle called the treasury, whence it is distributed among the different members of the government, or issued for the different purposes of the state? But the influence of taxation does not terminate in the deductions which it makes from the fortunes of individuals; it exercises a power of no common extent, not only on the physical, but the moral interests of man.

The history of all ages, when it is viewed by a reflective mind, proves that the only glory as well as the only duty of a government consists in promoting the happiness of the people entrusted to its care. This happiness is intimately connected with its system of finance, or with the kind and the degree of the taxation which it imposes. The mass of people in any country are no farther interested in the administration of the government than as it secures their persons and their pro-

perty from foreign and from domestic violence and spoliation. But this security itself becomes a mockery, when the fiscal rapacity of the government extorts, by taxes, what the judicial and military force of the country protects.

The present advanced state of civilization, and the benign amelioration of manners, are a protection to the governed from the sanguinary atrocities, though not from the pecuniary avidity, of the government. It is money, and consequently taxation, which disposes of it, that is at present the highest object of political concern. It is money, or commerce, or something which ultimately resolves itself into pecuniary calculation, which is the common incitement to war. It is money which constitutes the sinews of war; and he is usually victorious who can support the expence of the contest for the greatest length of time.

Since religious dissensions have ceased to cause civil broils, and men can think differently from each other, without calling in the sword or the faggot to settle the dispute, the troubles which arise in the interior of states are principally relative to the nature or the extent of the sacrifices which the public weal requires. Even the French revolution, the greatest convulsion which Europe perhaps ever experienced, was immediately caused by the necessity of imposing new taxes. Had the court been sufficiently wise to keep its expenditure within the bounds of its income, and had it rather diminished than aggravated the public burthens, no pretext could have been furnished for those measures which ultimately led to the subversion of the government. The vicious prodigality of the court necessitated new and oppressive expedients of raising money; excited the attention of the people to the conduct of the government, and, consequently, caused a strong propensity to political discussion, which would not otherwise have been, at least so generally, excited. However numerous may be the members of which a government is composed, the great mass of the people can have no actual share in the administration; and they will pay little attention to its measures, except as far as those measures affect their private interests. A prodigal government, whose main object seems to be to devise new methods for extorting money from the pockets of the people, takes the surest step to convert the mass of the people, composed of peasants, farmers, traders, and artizans, into a nation of disputatious politicians.

Taxation affects every individual in his nearest and dearest interest, in his means of subsistence, and his quota of pleasurable existence. According to its nature and degree, it modifies his moral qualities, it electrifies or paralyses his fa-

culties, and may either convert the lively, enterprising, and industrious citizen into the sluggish, indolent, insensate drone, or the sluggish, indolent, insensate drone into the lively, enterprising, and industrious citizen. Hence it becomes of particular importance to consider what are the characteristic marks of that taxation which is favourable to morals and to industry. We agree with the author in thinking taxation a wise and beneficent part of our present social institutions. It is, essentially considered, without adverting to its adventitious abuses, only a transfer of a certain portion of the property of individuals, to that aggregate of persons who are called the government, for the more secure enjoyment of the remainder. In this sense, he who pays a tax, is in fact repaid more than the amount in his quota of pleasurable security.

In the infancy of states, *personal services* constitute the species of tax which is imposed upon the citizens, and the conversion of these services into a pecuniary tribute is owing to the advance of civilization, and to an improved structure of the political machine. After the capture of the ancient town of Anxur, the Roman soldiers were ordered to be paid out of the public treasury. A tax must have been instituted for the purpose, and no measure appears ever to have been more popular at Rome. Livy says (lib. iv. § 60), "*Nihil acceptum unquam a plebe tanto gaudio traditur.*" The substitution of a pecuniary impost for the *corvée* and other personal services may be regarded as a blessing to society.

Many taxes are not less recommended by their justice than their humanity; among which we may reckon those contributions by which a provision is made for the indigent and unfortunate. Those taxes which are imposed for the erection of public works, which give employment to the poor, may be regarded as a national advantage.

Some of the pleasures of the rich are irrational and pernicious, offensive to morals and to humanity. For instance, is it not a sinful perverseness of art to reduce a quantity of provisions, which would feed several families, to a quintessence, which may ravish the taste, but which injures the health, of a few voluptuaries? Is it not an act of treason against the bounty of nature, to condemn a large space of fertile soil to perpetual sterility, in order to improve the view, or gratify the propensity to some barbarous sport? Ought we to abandon to foxes or to wolves those fields which would furnish subsistence for rational man? Those taxes, therefore, which repress the criminal abuse of wealth, may be regarded as barriers which philanthropy erects against cruelty and injustice.

There are expences which are authorized by prejudice and by custom, but which cannot be justified before the tribunal of reason and of conscience. And ought not a wise system of finance to confirm the decisions of reason and of conscience?—When we have satisfied those desires of pleasurable existence, which are compatible with temperance and with innocence, the surplus must be regarded by the religionist as well as the philosopher, as the just boon of suffering man.—The civil law says to the proprietor—*thou mayest use or abuse thy possessions*; but the fiscal code, more just and more humane, exclaims, If thou dost not make a sensible and moral use of thy wealth, the national imposts shall provide for the duties of humanity, which thou deemest beneath thy notice or regard.

A wise system of finance will not only tend to restrain irregular gratifications, but it will punish the man who does not employ his faculties for the benefit of society. On this ground we think with the author, and in opposition to Mr. Malthus, that celibacy is a proper object of taxation. Are there not many domestic employs—many easy and delicate occupations which are at present filled by men, but which ought to be appropriated to the softer sex? Here may not taxation wisely interpose, and does not philanthropy indeed herself excite finance to assert the violated rights of the weaker half of human nature, and to punish the merciless aggressions on feminine imbecility?

A wise and beneficent system of finance will discourage the effeminacy of opulence, and those employments which are more or less frivolous or unwholesome.

The multiplication of the means of subsistence may be greatly encouraged by finance, when this empress of modern states establishes only those imposts which are sanctioned by justice and humanity.

What an august aspect does finance assume, when she becomes the associate of wisdom and philanthropy!—Hitherto finance has been, in a great measure, only the scourge and the curse of modern Europe. But it is pleasant to contemplate the benefits which she might confer, and the evils which she might prevent, when, instead of a rapacious extortioner, eager only to add to the stock of public wealth, she forms a close and a hallowed union with reason and with conscience, with morality and religion. Taxation, therefore, is not in itself opposite to the interests of humanity, except where it is perverted by the folly or the atrocity of governments.

A vicious and exorbitant taxation is the prolific source of misery and crimes. This taxation is principally occasioned



by ruinous wars, by the ignorant policy and the sordid views of short-sighted and selfish governments. If we take a survey of the present states of Europe, how few are there in which man enjoys that happy state of existence which ought to be the product of social institutions? What an afflicting spectacle do many of them present! Do we not see deserts frown, where abundant harvests ought to smile? Do we not behold the human species degraded, and exhibiting nothing but rags and wretchedness? If we ask, what has occasioned this wide-spread desolation, we find that the cause may be traced not to the ravage of a barbarous enemy, but to the oppressive and impolitic imposts of the government.

How much misery and suffering are the consequence of an oppressive, unjust, and capricious taxation! The lower orders, enfeebled by an insufficiency of nutritious food, are incapable of continued and vigorous industry: totally occupied with present wants, they have no means from which a providential parsimony can lay by any thing for future need. The hope of improving their condition, which animates while it sweetens toil, which banishes the sensation of fatigue by the prospect of enjoyment, cannot be theirs. When man is deprived of every thing which enters into the composition of pleasurable existence, he degenerates into a lumpish substance, which wants the distinguishing faculties of man. He becomes hardened against every tender sentiment; he sees in his children only so many aggravations of his own wretchedness; the charms of domestic life, which might gladden his dwelling, are destroyed by the rigours of indigence.

A vicious and exorbitant taxation is an outrage against the best and dearest interests of man, because it abridges his means of obtaining that intellectual improvement, which tends to animate his industry, and rectify his sentiments. Individuals in the more humble sphere of life are more exempt, by their obscurity, from the wholesome operations of that public opinion, which often forms a salutary check on those in the higher classes;—their necessities predispose them to the infraction of various moral duties; and hence it becomes even more requisite that their minds should be early impressed with right ideas of justice, and with an awful conviction of the all-seeing presence of God. And as such persons are, at the same time, subject to the experience of more numerous privations, they have more need of some internal source of solace in the miseries of life; and what can furnish this so well as the cheering perspective of a state of endless existence, as the recompence of temporary suffering? But how requi-

site is early culture to superinduce a moral and religious, over the natural, temperament of man!

Though the simple habits of rural life often operate as the safeguard of integrity, yet how often does the feeling of distress harden and vitiate the heart! Hunger is a passion which is not susceptible of controul, and which seems to legitimate the violation of all the social restraints which are so many obstacles to its alleviation. But is not the government whose fiscal exactions drive the multitude to these extremities, an accomplice in their crimes?

Where countries are desolated by the evil genius of taxation, how can we expect to find the vivid energy of patriotism?—Patriotism extends the parental tie, and gives the character of fraternity to all our fellow-countrymen; but how can those artizans love their country, who behold in it only a ravager of their goods? How can slaves, who groan under the weight of their bondage, cheerfully risk their lives against an invading enemy?

In considering the relative inconveniences of different modes of taxation, we find that a direct tax is attended with great advantages. It has a certain basis, a definite measure in the revenue of individuals, and the values, on which it is imposed, continually furnish new aliment to the wants of the state. A land-tax must be considered as the first and most efficient of direct taxes. A tax on capital, rather than on revenue, is vicious and unjust; as properties, whose capital value is equal, but whose products are unequal, pay an equal tax in this mode of contribution. A land tax, which is levied in kind on the produce of the soil, ought not to take place except where the want of a circulating medium leaves the state no other mode of obtaining the contribution. Such a tax would be associated with numerous inconveniences. The raw produce in which it is paid, must be housed, guarded, resold, whence considerable loss would arise. This would necessitate an increased contribution, and all the miseries of popular oppression. Such a tax, though it may bear an exact relation to the value of the article on which it is raised, is essentially injurious, because it is levied on the total mass of the produce, with ut any deduction being made for the greater or less expence which the culture requires. A quarter of wheat, for instance, in some soils, may not be raised at three times the expence which it costs in others. But where the tax is paid in kind, this circumstance would not occasion any diminution in the amount. But would not this be highly capricious and unjust? And must not such a tax

operate in the strongest manner against the improvement of the soil? If such a tax has been for many ages adopted for the pay of the clergy, its antiquity, as the author says, does not prove its usefulness, nor justify its continuance. In the times in which tithes were first established, the people were entirely agricultural, and under the sway of superstition. The products of the soil were the only existing goods, and it was from these that the expences of religious worship were necessarily defrayed. As the fruits of the earth were considered as the immediate gift of the Divinity, it appeared expedient that his ministers should have their appropriate share of his gratuitous beneficence. Popular opinion confirmed the obligation, and it was thought that the breach of it would be punished by the sterility of the soil. Long usage and religious respect hallowed the impost which has subsisted, notwithstanding its opposition to wiser principles of taxation. But if tithes were paid to the state as well as to the church, what would be the consequence? Would there not be a general neglect of all agricultural improvement? and if tithes would be pernicious in one instance, why should they be thought salutary in another? If tithes be an equitable and politic mode of taxation, for the payment of the ministers of religion, why should they be thought an oppressive and injurious provision for the political necessities of the state?

Houses, which are designed merely as a shelter from the weather, without any sacrifice of expence to ornament or to taste, are not proper objects of taxation; but in proportion as the limits of necessity are exceeded, we are furnished with a criterion of opulence which comes within the contributions of finance. Indirect taxes, which some writers think ought not to be admitted in any wise system of finance, and which some extol as preferable to other modes of taxation, are more or less adapted to different states, according as they are more or less devoted to agriculture or manufactures, as they are more or less commercial, as they are rich or poor.

Indirect taxes are censured as expensive in the collection, as opening a door to fraud, and operating as a restraint on industry. But, on the other hand, this mode of contribution is more agreeable, because it is voluntary; it is less susceptible of excess, because it is regulated by the expence and proportioned to the means of individuals. This species of impost is often imperceptible, because it is confounded with the commercial value of the article; and it is often necessary to rectify the unavoidable inequalities even of a direct tax. A direct tax, which is regulated by the quota of revenue, may

be just in an arithmetical, and unjust in a moral and political, proportion; for the possessors of equal incomes may be unequally taxed, according to the extent or the limitation of their wants, which prescribe the sacrifices which the state ought to demand.

We are, at the same time, to consider, that, more especially in indirect taxes, the contributor is not always the person who is aggrieved; that there are taxes which cause a pernicious reaction, but which it is difficult to estimate, because it results from the combination of numerous facts. In the conflict of individual interests which agitates the whole mass of a society, each person is anxious to throw on his neighbour the weight of the tax which is levelled against himself. The trader lays the amount of the tax on the price of his article, and he not only reimburses himself the amount, but the interest of the money which he has advanced. But there are contributors who cannot indemnify themselves for the taxes which they pay, nor transfer the pressure to their neighbour. Such are the landlord of a farm which is let on lease, the professional man who enjoys a fixed salary, and, in short, the whole class of consumers, considered only as consumers. In commercial transactions, the tax at times falls on the buyer, at others on the seller, and sometimes on one of those two parties, who, according to an equitable rule of contribution, ought not to pay the tax. The value of a commercial article is, in general, in a ratio compounded of the utility of the thing, and the difficulty of procuring it. We here include in the idea of utility, that utility which opinion creates through the medium of desire. Besides this mode of appretiation, there is a perpetual struggle between the buyer and the seller, in which, as in all other struggles, the strong get the better of the weak; the greater want prevails over the less, and determines whether the buyer or the seller shall pay the tax. The labourer cannot force his master to raise his wages, when the latter has less need for his labour, than the labourer himself for subsistence; and as the want of subsistence is the least subject to controul, the wages of labour are in general less than they ought to be, if the rules of humanity were more consulted than the relative situation of the parties. A tax on manufacturers or artizans, or on the provisions or merchandize which they more particularly use, by deteriorating the situation of these persons, would place them in a state of greater dependance on their employers, and thus would tend to reduce the price of their labour below even what it was before the creation of the tax.

The author says, that a tax is essentially vicious, when it

falls on a class of contributors who derive no advantage from it. But how little advantage do the majority derive from the taxes of modern times! And if all the taxes which are, in the sense of M. de Monthion, essentially vicious, were abolished, how few would be left for the support of existing governments! It cannot, however, but excite our regret, to see so many instances in which those who are taxed contribute to expences which are injurious to their interests, and particularly where the scale of taxation is so unequally graduated, that the poor are made to pay for the pleasures of the rich.

The existence of taxes is hardly anterior to complaints of their excess. But it is, nevertheless, not very easy previously to define in what the excess consists. The excess of a tax is always better determined by its effects than by the principles of any theoretical system. We see at once that a tax is excessive when it absorbs so large a part of the value of the article on which it is imposed, that the product ceases to be profitable. A tax is evidently excessive, when it multiplies the temptations to fraud, and facilitates the commission; when it impedes the progress or annihilates the power of industry; when it excites a preference to illicit and contraband pleasures, and tends to subvert the foundations of patriotism.

Personal taxes ought to be so graduated, as very slightly to touch those whose narrow means extend but a few lines beyond the bare necessities of life; while larger revenues, which admit of more multiplied enjoyments, may afford larger deductions to the wants of the state. There are species of trade which are almost profitless to the individual, but are very beneficial to the state: here the smallest tax would be destructive. And there are other species of trade which are highly lucrative to individuals, but less advantageous to the state: these will admit of heavier contributions. The scale of taxation on amusements should be regulated by the same principles as that on revenue, and the same respect should be shewn to poverty and misfortune.

Where taxation is accumulated and excessive, it should not be simultaneously reduced, but successively and by degrees. Where the expences of a state are determinate and necessary, such a reduction, by rendering new impositions requisite, would produce a sudden change in the situation, and a commotion in the interests of individuals, which would have very pernicious consequences. A division in the burthens of the state, which is inconsistent with equity, but which has been sanctioned by time, ought never to be rashly and precipitately abolished. The re-establishment of equity would in these



cases be sometimes even more injurious than the permanence of the injustice. Commercial and other arrangements, which were formed on the supposition of the pre-existing state of things, must be forcibly altered or new-modelled; and the utmost confusion and disorder must ensue. Great temper and moderation are requisite even in financial reforms.

When we open the great book of experience, which is the safest guide in human affairs, we see in what manner taxation operates on the morals and the industry of man. How numerous and diversified are the modes of taxation which have been invented by the fertile genius of finance! What article is there which has not been made an object of taxation? Have we not taxes on land and taxes on water?—taxes on the natural products of the soil, and the artificial products of culture;—taxes on the solid contents of the earth beneath, and which are not extracted from its bowels without much labour and expence;—taxes on those dwellings which are intended to shield us from the inclemency of the weather;—taxes on windows which are designed only to admit the light or the air;—taxes on every construction which adds to the natural value of the soil;—taxes on the rent of land, and the interest of money;—taxes on the pensions and salaries which the state allows to its servants;—taxes on all lucrative professions;—taxes, in short, on existence, which we cannot escape, but by ceasing to exist? Do we wish to make use of any of the articles which are subject to these various contributions, we must still pay other imposts for the use. If we wish to drink a more agreeable or more invigorating liquor than water, we must pay a duty on the drink. Those provisions which are most necessary to life, or most essential to the preservation of health, are loaded with duties which diminish the consumption, and debar the poor from the enjoyment. If age, infirmities, or fatigue oblige us to get into a carriage, or on a horse, we must pay a tax for not making use of our limbs. Where the merchant augments the stock of national wealth by advantageous exchanges, the government makes no small deduction from his gains. He who inherits a property from his relations, or receives a legacy from his friends, must pay a tax to the state for the benevolence of the defunct. When property is transferred from one to another, or sold to a new owner, the state interposes to profit by the arrangement, and to make each of the parties pay for the legality of the bargain. When a man pays his debts, the state imposes a duty upon his honesty in the form of a stamp. He cannot defend himself against calumny, violence, and injustice, without paying a considerable impost to the state. He cannot even prosecute



a thief without first adding something to the stock of wealth in the treasury. But what seems in no small degree absurd is, that those flagitious and disadvantageous games of chance which are interdicted among individuals, are practised by the government in the form of lotteries, than which there cannot be a more delusive nor more pernicious species of play. But financial considerations seem to absorb all moral and politic regards,

In almost all the European states man seems besieged by a host of taxes, which assail him in all the pleasures and comforts of his existence. Hence irritated fanatics have been led to consider political institutions as a conspiracy against his happiness, and the advantages of a state of nature have been embellished with every flower of eloquence. But eloquence is not always truth; and truth, though it may censure the injustice and the folly of some taxes, will not condemn the principle of taxation.

The author takes his examples of the nature and effect of different taxes from the financial scheme which existed in France under the old *regime*; but most of his remarks are applicable to the financial arrangements of other states. In the system of finance which prevailed in France before the revolution, the direct taxes constituted only half the amount of the contributions. In the eighteenth century, the project of a tax in kind, proportioned to the annual produce, was thrice conceived and once attempted in France. In the beginning of that century Marshal Vauban proposed a royal tithe, which was announced as about to be highly productive, without being onerous to the people; but the delusion was dissipated by an enlightened minister. In 1725, the government levied a fiftieth of the produce of the soil; but this tax, though the scale occasioned great complaints, produced less than was expected, and was abandoned. In 1787 this species of impost more dexterously organized, was proposed as an expedient for extricating the national finance from the abyss in which it was ready to be plunged. But it was asserted that a tax in kind, which is variable and uncertain, though it might be suited to a small state, was not adapted to constitute the principal resource of a great empire, where the expenses are vast, fixed, and indispensable. In an extensive territory there is a great diversity of soil, and consequently of produce; and it must be very difficult to fix the proportion of the tax which should be allotted to each. If this proportion should be unequally assessed, the excess of the impost must in some places be injurious to cultivation. The sentiment of injustice in some provinces would produce the most angry remonstrances, and the most vigorous resistance.

The author remarks, and we think with reason, that the land-tax, which is the most important of all the various imposts, is not wisely organized nor established on equitable principles in any country in Europe. In some countries the rate of the tax is regulated by an old valuation, which was perhaps originally fixed by the friendship or the animosity of a party, and of which the defects have been multiplied by length of continuance. There are no assessments which have been sufficiently proportioned to the more or less productive qualities of the soil.

M. de Monthion thinks that the mode of taxing houses by the number of their windows or their chimneys is erroneous and unequal, for that number has no fixed nor determined proportion to the value of the building. Hence, some houses are charged more than they ought, and some species of industry are restrained; thus the arts which require more light are subject to a higher tax than other arts. In dwelling-houses it is rather the situation than the number of windows which magnifies the value. As houses are situated in villages or in towns, or in commercial towns, which are more or less rich, or in parts of a town which are more or less agreeable, which are more or less frequented, as they enjoy a finer prospect, or have other conveniences and benefits, the rent is greater or less.

A free circulation of air is always one of the requisites of health, and a tax on windows is an obstacle to the ventilation of rooms. It must, therefore, for these and other reasons which might be assigned, be deemed a vicious and improper tax.

Some taxes have been devised to reduce the interest of money employed in commerce, and thus to facilitate the completion of national loans. This was the miserable shift of a narrow-minded policy; for the interest of money employed in commerce cannot be regulated by laws, but by the abundance or the scarcity of the precious metals, and the means of employing them to advantage. By fixing an arbitrary maximum on the interest of money, we in some measure diminish the resources of agriculture, of commerce and the arts; and thus we do the state a great and general injury, which is but ill compensated by some little increase of facility to the conclusion of national loans. In this part of his work the author makes some very just remarks on the French system of finance under the old *régime*.

In those provinces in France, before the revolution, where the personal tax was best understood and most humanely exacted, the man who, without property or trade, had no other means of obtaining subsistence than by the sweat of his brow,

was computed to receive the amount of two hundred days' work in the course of the year; and the pay of two of these days' work constituted the quota of his tax. But however moderate this computation may seem, it was very high, if we consider the number of holidays in the Roman Catholic calendar, together with the numerous days in which the labourer is kept idle by the state of the atmosphere, or the rigours of the season, by the want of work, or by sickness and infirmities. In most of the provinces in France, it was demonstrated that, according to the wages of labour, the most hale and hard-working individual, with a wife and four small children, could not provide the most common necessities for his family. Hence, the pressure of want, aggravated by taxation, excited a propensity to crimes, and extinguished the spirit of industry which a certain degree of comfort is necessary to support.

The capitation tax was fixed at a fortieth of the income, from whatever source it might arise, whether from lands, houses, rent, or wages of labour. No one was exempt from the tax except the ecclesiastics, by whom it had been redeemed on terms very advantageous to the state, and the inhabitants of some provinces in which it had been compounded or perverted. The rate of the capitation, at a fortieth of the income, was not vigorously enforced; there was often an indulgence in favour of the contributor, but it would have been more equitable if it had been graduated according to a scale more favourable to industry.

Indirect taxes, as they are proportioned to the fortune of the contributors, as they are laid on articles of voluntary expense, and as their pressure is often almost imperceptible from being so intimately blended with the original price of the article, constitute an excellent mean for promoting the national interest, and for punishing the irregularities of wealth. But at the same time these taxes are often very expensive in the collection, and gave rise to a multiplicity of frauds; and, when they are levied on essential wants, they aggravate the poverty of the poor, and deteriorate the condition of man.

In France, previous to the revolution, the indirect taxes constituted more than half the revenue of the state, and could not be replaced by an increase of the land-tax. The French territory contained about a hundred and twenty-five millions of acres, which, after making an allowance for the barren, and waste, for those which were not cultivated, or were not susceptible of culture, could not be valued at a rental of more than eight hundred and seventy-five millions of livres. Now, as the taxes amounted to five hundred and eighty-five millions, without including the tithes; if this sum had been laid on

the revenue of the landed proprietors, it would have absorbed almost the whole, particularly when we consider that, from this amount of rental, we are to deduct the expences of buildings and repairs.

In most states, the taxes which do not immediately fall on the products of land and labour, have been laid on consumption; because this has been considered as the most just measure of the capability to contribute. But, according to this principle, these taxes should be levied only on those species of consumption which indicate vice or opulence. The scruples of financial morality have, however, been but little regarded, since the expences and the debts of nations have been accumulated to an enormous amount. As the consumptions which are exacted by the wants of life constitute a total of value so greatly superior to that which is devoted to the pleasures of wealth, taxes have been principally imposed on objects of primary necessity. A most oppressive scale of augmentation has been adopted, and the necessities of life have been taxed in a higher ratio than the objects of luxury.

Bread, or grain from which it is made, being the most essential part of human subsistence, must be placed in the first line of objects of primary necessity. But nevertheless it has not been always exempted from taxation; though most of the nations by which this tax has been permitted, have had reason to repent of their folly. A tax on butcher's meat has been admitted in many states; but meat is not an object of such general use, nor so necessary as grain and pulse. In France, half the nation either ate no meat, or ate it very seldom, without suffering any inconvenience, when other articles of subsistence were in sufficient abundance. A vegetable diet is favourable to health, and perhaps might be rendered by habit not less invigorating than that of animal food.

The author very vehemently, and we think very justly, condemns a tax on salt. He calls it one of those contributions which are most harsh, pernicious, and unjust.

'Salt,' says the author, 'is one of the great blessings which we derive from the beneficence of nature; to deprive us of it by imposts, or at least, to restrain the munificence of Providence, is an act of outrage towards God, and of inhumanity towards man. Salt is designed to give a wholesome flavour to our food, and to preserve it from putrefaction; but the enormous duties with which it is burthened, force the poor to a parsimonious use of it, which is dangerous to health. Salt is not less salubrious for brutes than for men, particularly for that class of animals which serve for the food of man. But the impossibility in some provinces, and the difficulty in others, of giving it them in sufficient quantity, has caused a great number of them to perish by ma-

ladies, from which they might have been preserved, and has thus proved very injurious to the interests of agriculture. The poor are more oppressed by this tax than the rich; for the father of a family having to provide for the subsistence of many persons, pays much more than the bachelor, when he ought to pay less.

The collection of this tax has often given rise to the most rigorous and tyrannical measures. The inhabitant of the sea-shore has been interdicted the use of its waters. Might not the state, with almost as much justice, have prohibited the use of the air, for the purposes of respiration?

It is with much more justice and with much less public detriment, that fermented liquors have been subjected to heavy impositions. Those liquors which are the objects of taxation are seldom necessary to man; some of them are injurious to his health; and even most of those, which are salubrious, belong to the class of cordials, which we ought only occasionally to use.

Physical, dietetic, moral and national consideration have seldom been consulted in the imposition and graduation of the duties on fermented liquors. The interests of the treasury are more regarded than every other interest; questions of morality have always been postponed to questions of revenue; the most noxious liquors have often been charged with only slight duties, while those which are more harmless, or salutary, have been loaded with grievous imposts.

It must excite our indignation and our regret to observe the moral unfitness which prevails in the financial regulations of states; to see salt taxed with as much rigour as tobacco, and soap and candles loaded with as heavy a duty as hair-powder! We behold the manufactures of iron, of gold and silver, of wool and silk, of leather for shoes, and of cards for gambling, necessities, conveniences, and superfluities, promiscuously taxed. Some governments have, indeed, attempted to graduate their taxes according to the utility of the objects; but, even in this respect, the consistency of any wise plan has been defeated by the calculations of financial rapacity, or by an imbecile pliancy of the government to the capricious humours or vicious inclinations of the people.

The author seems favourable to a tax on dress, when, exceeding the limits of necessity and decency, it luxuriates in finery and ornament. A tax which should fall only on the superfluous embellishments, and costliness, of apparel would be a sumptuary tax, and might form a new source of supply to the necessities of the state, if an easy, simple, and economical mode of raising it could be devised. We have taxes on hats, and on hair-powder; and might not a salutary tax



be levied on jewels and lace, and various other exterior decorations?

It is dress which marks the exterior difference among men; and governments have made use of this means to mark the distinction of ranks. Hence we have blue and red ribands, and stars, and garters, and the varied livery of office, and of state. Different kinds of cloth, &c. seem appropriate to different modes of life; coarse wollen cloths are best adapted to rough and laborious occupations; cotton suits a sedentary life, and feminine functions; silk and muslin seem the drapery of delicacy and elegance. A tax laid on species of apparel, which are, more particularly worn by those who are raised above the exigencies of want, would add largely to the revenue of the state, without increasing the oppression of the people. Among the different species of imposts, we cannot but feel a strong predilection in favour of those, of which the payment is in some degree optional, or a matter of choice rather than necessity. Various species of furniture would constitute a proper object of taxation, as they are indications of luxury and wealth. If it be equitable to make a man pay a tax for wearing powder on his head, why should he not pay one for having a carpet under his feet? Why should he not contribute something for the luxury or the elegance of having his table and his side-board furnished with vessels of silver and of gold? With respect to objects of indirect impost, taxation is far from having reached its *maximum* of increase or utility.

Among the various infractions of a wise policy which were committed by the old government of France, we may reckon the sale of titles of nobility. Thus the marks of patriotic distinction were made the badge of gold. This was to dishonour honour. But in other governments, which we could name, though the higher species of title are not publicly sold, yet there are species which may always be had for money, and how few are there which may not be procured by great wealth, assisted by political intrigue? At a time when, owing principally to the operations of the press; a new order of aristocracy which may be called, *INTELLECTUAL NOBILITY*, is gradually arising in every state; it behoves governments not to suffer the old privileged orders to be precipitated into an abyss of contumely and contempt, by lavishing titles on the ignorant, and the worthless, merely because they happen to be raised above their peers in the scale of opulence. The author remarks, that to raise such men to the superior orders, who have been enriched in the inferior, is often only to deprive trade and commerce of a portion of its salutary resources.



One of the most noble functions of finance is to favour the general diffusion of real, and rational, and wholesome pleasures, and to discourage those which are pernicious, illusory, or criminal. Taxation itself becomes a moral instructor, when it operates as a restraint on noxious gratifications. Pleasure, considered in its essence, and in the whole extent of its effects, may be reckoned among the absolute wants of man; and it is one of those wants, the sentiment of which constitutes the most intolerable suffering, and often leads to suicide. Happiness itself, is pleasure prolonged. This innate desire of pleasure often leads to the most opposite determinations, and influences even the moral character of man. But though the wisdom of finance may not be able to exercise any absolute controul over the choice of particular pleasures, yet it may operate by an indirect and hardly less efficacious influence. Taxation, by favouring some tastes, and contravening others, may incline to the acquisition of habits, which are powerfully operative in the conduct. Is there not a very sensible and important difference between the character of a nation which is addicted to drunkenness, and that of a nation which is devoted to sobriety? But is not the power of influencing the ebriety or sobriety of nations within the province of finance? May we not discern a sensible characteristic difference between those nations, and those classes of the same nation which are habituated to the use of coffee or of wine, of brandy or of beer?

The author well remarks that

‘the influence of finance does not extend to those natural and primitive pleasures which belong to the physical constitution; the delicately organized structure of man. The most delicious sensations which interest both the mind and heart—the happiness of loving, and the happiness of being loved, which is perhaps greater still; these real blessings are beyond the reach of finance, which comprehends only those factitious pleasures by which labour is refreshed, or idleness gratified; but which, notwithstanding their transient appearance, scatter the seeds of virtue or of vice, and indicate, by their character and effects, the pleasures which taxation ought rigorously to repress, slightly to touch, or totally to neglect.’

A most noxious and delusive paradox seems often to have occupied the minds of the rulers of states, that enormous taxation is a salutary expedient for enforcing political submission. It is supposed that, when the utmost exertions of individuals are not more than sufficient to enable them to discharge the requisitions of the state, and to procure subsistence for themselves, they will be diverted from any insurrectionary efforts,

and will not have leisure to calculate the degree of their political oppression. But this is so far from being true, that it has been invariably found that excess of taxation, which is only another word for excess of suffering, always generates the spirit of discontent, and tends to produce revolutionary movements. The persons who are always most unwilling to engage in the subversion of the existing order of things, are those who are at ease in their circumstances. Those have most to gain in civil commotions, whom the oppressive folly of the government has left nothing to lose. Taxation is good within certain limits; but when it passes those limits, it becomes a grievance, which must sooner or later lead to the destruction of the government, to whose prodigal rapacity it ought to be ascribed.

There is another opinion which is not more true, and hardly less pernicious, that taxation may be carried to its highest pitch in any state, provided the sums, which are levied by the different imposts, are all expended in the state in which they are raised. According to this hypothesis, the imposts, which are thus expended, are regarded only as a transfer of property, which is interesting to individuals, but indifferent to the state. But is it a matter of little moment, to convert the gains of industry into the expenditure of idleness? Are the modes, in which a government expends the mass of its imposts, any adequate indemnity for the mischief which is caused by the levying of the tax?

Most of the various modes of public expenditure are generally sterile, and often pernicious. How large a portion of the taxation of states is employed in the 'pomp and circumstance' of war, in the pay of soldiers, and other agents, who are taken from agriculture and the arts, and who would have been productive labourers if they had been left to their original destination?

While the revenue of government is collected in detail, and by minute portions, it is expended in a mass, or in large sums, particularly that portion of it which is allotted to the principal agents of the government. Thus the money does not return to the same source from which it came. For the tendency of taxation is to add to the wealth of the rich and to the poverty of the poor. Hence a double principle of corruption is at once operative in the state. The higher classes are corrupted by the excess of opulence, and the consequent bane of luxury; and the lower classes by the misery of want, and the vices to which it is allied. Even where taxes are employed in the wages of labour, the money is very imperfectly returned to those from whom it was extorted by imposts. For taxes are laid on the whole of a territory, but they are expended

only in one place, or in a small number of places. Taxes are levied on all classes of citizens, but the classes whose labours are suited to the works undertaken by the government are alone benefited by the expenditure.

Notwithstanding the pressure of taxation, we must confess that, if we compare the present with a remoter period, a considerable amelioration has taken place in the condition of man. The bread which is eaten by the poor is made of a better quality; wheat is substituted for barley, or barley supplies the place of inferior grain. The cottages of the poor are better built, and furnished with a greater number of conveniences. Literature is much more generally diffused. Formerly there were few who could read, and fewer still who could write; but by the present improved mode of education, it will soon become a much greater prodigy to find an individual who cannot read or write, than it was, three or four centuries ago, to find one who could. But knowledge is a real good, and the general increase of it proves a most important melioration in the social and physical state of man. It is pleasant to contemplate this actual improvement in the condition of civilized humanity, notwithstanding the numerous wasteful and bloody wars, by which the resources of ages have been destroyed, and accumulated myriads swept off the earth into an untimely grave.

The great object of the present work, which is evidently the production of an enlightened mind, is to establish a system of finance on a more rational basis than has hitherto been adopted, to render it subservient to moral ends and to the promotion of the best interests of mankind.

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ART. II. *Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur, &c.*

*Account of the Court of the Grand Seignior, his Seraglio, Harem, Family, Military Officers, &c. To which is subjoined, an historical Essay on the Mahometan Religion. By Joseph Eugene Beauvoisin, Chef d'Escadron, Judge of the Military Tribunal at Naples, &c. &c. Paris, 1809. 1 vol. 8vo.*

THIS is one of the numerous productions of the press on the subject of Turkey which has recently made its appearance in the literary world. It has the peculiar merit, however, of communicating some facts, which seem to have escaped the observation of others; and in some instances a few vulgar errors entertained throughout Europe on the subject of the manners and policy of the Turks are satisfactorily corrected.

'Little is known in France,' the author informs us, 'of the court of the grand seignior. The accounts we at present possess are almost all inaccurate, false, or antiquated. Of the latter description is the work of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, which has hitherto been regarded as the most faithful.'

After this indiscriminate abuse of his predecessors and contemporaries, it is but fair that M. Beauvoisins should be called upon to state his own pretensions to authenticity; and it is equally fair to say that his sources of information seem to have been genuine.

'Most European travellers,' says our author, 'have penetrated no farther than the first or outer court of the interior of the seraglio, and have contented themselves with the accounts they had read, when describing what they had never seen with their own eyes. I should have been equally ignorant myself, even after a residence of two years and a half in the capital, if I had not been fortunate enough to obtain admission into the interior of the gardens, and even into the apartments of the women; In this enterprize I was favoured by a German, who was chief gardener in the seraglio, and who introduced us through one of the gates of the Sultana Valide's apartments, at a time when the court was at Bechick-Tasch, a country-seat on the shores of the Bosphorus. M. Jean Bon Saint André, now prefect of Mentz, was of the party; and we visited together places which had not often been trod by the feet of Europeans.'

'I vouch for the truth of all the details which I procured, and which I have communicated to my readers: my difficulty in procuring them was extreme; the Turks having little curiosity themselves, cannot conceive why questions are put to them on subjects, of which they cannot see the importance, and on which their religion frequently enjoins their silence.'

One of the vulgar errors in modern geography makes the walls of the seraglio to be seven leagues in circumference. It is scarcely two, and within this enclosure, besides numerous mosques and gardens, it contains buildings capable of accommodating 20,000 souls. From the middle of the channel this palace presents a most enchanting scene; but the view is not equally fine on the land side: the domes, cupolas, and minarets disappear; a thick and high wall checks the view of the spectator, and inspires him with gloomy reflections, particularly when at the principal entrance he perceives human heads lying scattered upon heaps of dung, while the path he treads is moistened by human blood!

The harem, or the women's palace, is the most considerable building of the seraglio. Here the author takes occasion to shew the distinction between the wives' *harem* and *seraglio*, which in common language are generally confounded. The

former appellation is entirely confined to the residence allotted for the wives or concubines of a mahometan of rank. Every opulent individual has his harem, but no one except the grand seignor can have a seraglio, which is merely the Persian word for palace or royal residence: no person is excluded from a seraglio, whereas no male is allowed to enter the harem except the master of the house.

The harem of the seraglio at Constantinople contains suites of apartments, or rather separate houses, for each of the grand seignor's lawful wives: two hundred girls at least are allotted as servants (odalisques) to every sultana, and all of them may in their turns be admitted to the bed of their royal master, if they happen to attract his regard in his visits to his wives.

The latter live secluded from each other, and are scarcely acquainted. Each has her separate garden, kiosk, baths, and amusements, and they are seldom, if ever, assembled together in one apartment. The harem is under the immediate superintendence of the *kehaya khadusia*, or chief duenna, who is always an old favourite, who has been rewarded by this office for long and faithful services. She is the sovereign of this immense establishment, and receives her instructions directly from the emperor's own lips.

M. Beauvoisins here refutes another vulgar error respecting the throwing of the handkerchief in the Turkish harem. This ceremony merely consists in the emperor's sending through the medium of his chief bawd, a magnificent dress for the object of his choice, who considers this as an unequivocal invitation to pass the night in the royal bed.

The female tenants of the harem see no male whatever, and are prohibited, under pain of death, from holding any correspondence with those without the walls of the seraglio. To form an idea of the extreme rigour with which they are guarded from the sight of mankind, it is sufficient to be acquainted with the precautions employed when they pass on foot between the harem and the sea-gate of the seraglio, previous to embarking for the emperor's country seat.

\* A living pallisado of black eunuchs is formed on the right and left, between the door of the harem and the steps which communicate with the vessel. These eunuchs face outwards, and each carries a long staff, to which is attached a piece of cloth, ten feet broad, and reaching to the eunuch on his right and left. The women pass between these walls of cloth to the barge, which is also fitted up with *jalousies* and awnings.

The outer gates of the harem are guarded by 300 black



eunuchs, who form the first line without the walls, and are commanded by an officer called the *kislar-gha*.

'These black rascals,' says M. Beauvoisin, 'are mere brutes, without the least education, and not even the smallest degree of civilization: they live together like pigs in a sty, and are so completely in a savage state, that they are equally strangers to the manners and customs of Constantinople, with a Tartar, or a Laplander.

'The black eunuchs alone have a right to enter into the gardens of the harem. When the grand seignior walks in them, he leaves his pages and his white eunuchs without the wall, and is accompanied by the *kislar-gha* and his myrmidons only. If there are any gardeners or labourers at work, the eunuchs call out *helvot!* and at this awful word every one quits his work and runs towards the gates: unfortunate is that man who remains while the females are strolling through the walks! certain death is the price of his temerity or negligence; no one dare save him, and he is immediately massacred by those ferocious animals, who are always ready, even when without the walls of the seraglio, to cut a passage for their master with their sabres, through the bodies of his loyal subjects!'

Next in rank to the black are the white eunuchs, who are equally numerous. They form the second line of the exterior guards of the harem. They are a little more civilized than the former. Their chief is called the *capou-aghassy* (head porter) and is a person of great consideration. He is inferior in rank, however, to the chief of the black eunuchs, the latter being a grand officer of the empire, while the former is only an upper officer of the household.

The menial offices of attending the person and apartments of the emperor are exclusively confided to his pages (*itsch-aghassy*), almost all of whom are young men of low extraction, from all parts of the Turkish empire, and particularly Asia, placed at court by grandees, who speculate on the advantages to be derived on future occasions from their creatures when they have attained the highest dignities of the seraglio. It is a curious but well authenticated fact, that these young persons, although they have generally left their first masters when in a state of infancy, scrupulously cherish the recollection of those who have been the means of placing them at the fountain-head of honours and preferment.

The pages are divided into four chambers. Those belonging to the first attend the person of the grand seignior on all occasions, except when he enters the harem. The second, which is the most numerous, contains those who are *yeomen of the mouth* to the emperor or his wives. Those intended for a military life compose the third chamber; and the fourth



consists of those who are entrusted with the care of the treasures locked up in the seraglio, as well as the jewels, diamonds, and the casket belonging to the emperor himself. These last have also the handling of all the taxes or contributions which come into the imperial treasury.

Custom requires that every grand seignior, during his reign, should form a particular treasury chamber (*ohasne*) in which he amasses all the savings of his revenue. At the end of every year, the chief of the black eunuchs draws up an inventory of all the *purses* which have been put into it in the course of the twelvemonths. A purse generally contains 500 piasters, or about 30 pounds sterling. These are thrown into a chest, and the grand seignior annually applies his seal to it with much pomp and ceremony. On the death of the sultan, the apartment containing his *khasnes* is shut, sealed by the grand vizir and other principal officers of the seraglio, and an inscription in letters of gold, bearing the name of the defunct monarch, is placed over the door.

The Turks are in the habit of regarding the treasures of the seraglio as sacred. To touch them is a national calamity. They are never to be used except in the last extremity, when the security of the empire is threatened, or on the greatest emergencies. The prejudices on this subject are so strong, that a sultan of Constantinople would rather procure money by the most atrocious exactions, than touch the *khasnes* of his ancestors. It is said that immense sums are thus locked up from public use. Reckoning 40 emperors since Mahomet the Second, the seraglio ought to contain as many *khasnes*, which, taken at an average of 12 millions of guineas, would give a total of 480 millions, without including the precious stones and other presents made to the grand seigniors, for these 350 years.

It is somewhat curious to find M. Beauvoisis so minute in his calculations of the treasures contained in the seraglio, and there is but too much reason to give him credit for the authenticity of his information. The plunder of the seraglio of Constantinople has, no doubt, long been a *projet* of the French ruler and his janizaries, and M. Beauvoisis has shewn himself well qualified to be chief of the *corps de guides*, in the execution of his master's rapacious designs. It is a remarkable but well authenticated fact, that for these two centuries past the French have been collecting materials for the subjugation of the world. In the port-folio of the celebrated Vauban were found accurate plans of the most vulnerable points in the event of an invasion of Great Britain and Ireland; and these are still preserved with religious care in the bureaux of the foreign department at Paris. At the

breaking up of the College of Jesuits, *projets* were found, for the dismemberment of Turkey, the partition of Poland, and the annihilation of every independent monarchy in Europe.

Besides the pages, there is another description of domestics in the courts of the Ottoman princes: these are the *mutes*; persons who have been born deaf and dumb. They are 40 in number; lodge during the night under the same roof with the pages, and in the day-time remain before the entrance into the mosque, where they are busied in acquiring the language of signs. Among these forty there are generally some who are greater favourites than the rest, and these serve to amuse the grand seignior by sham battles, or leaping into cisterns of water, to excite the laughter of the courtiers.

The mutes were formerly charged with the execution of the orders of death throughout the empire. They set out alone, and presented themselves unarmed before the person whose head was required by the grand seignior. The criminal kissed the fatal warrant with reverence, adjusted the bow-string round his neck with composure, and died in the firm conviction, that, to fall by the mandate of his sovereign, was to expiate all his offences in this world!

Examples of this blind submission, however, are no longer to be met with, and the bearers of these death-warrants have not unfrequently suffered the martyrdom they intended for others. It is a fact of recent occurrence, that Dgezzar-Pacha, the last governor of St. Jean d'Acre, blew out the brains of the mute who was sent to seize him, and having cut off his head, sent it to Constantinople in a leathern sack. This spirited governor retained his place for thirty years, in a state of open rebellion, and successfully avoided every attempt made to assassinate him by the numerous emissaries of the Porte.

It requires little political foresight to prognosticate the consequences of this defection in the modern Turks, from the religious prejudices of their ancestors; another year will not elapse, perhaps, ere the French eagles are displayed on the minarets of St. Sophia: and the religion and dynasty of the prophet, already fallen into contempt among their adherents, will be extinguished at a blow.

Of late the Turkish government has never employed mutes in getting rid of refractory subjects; the place and dignities of the rebel chief are promised to the fortunate assassin, who brings his head to the divan.

About a dozen of dwarfs also contribute to the amusements of the grand seignior. They accompany him when he rides out, and their hunches serve him for mounting his horse, to the great entertainment of the inhabitants of the seraglio.

The capidgys-bochy compose the sovereign's escort. They accompany him on horseback every Friday, to the mosque. One of them by turns sleeps, every night, at the second gate into the seraglio, and the keys are delivered to him before going to rest. The *grande*es of the empire court their favour, for the sake of the influence they enjoy with the grand seignior and his ministers.

In the Ottoman court there are two grand equeries, who have under their superintendence the grooms of the seraglio. The former preside at the festival, of putting out to grass all the emperor's horses. This ceremony is described by M. Beauvoisis in the following manner :

'This festival is celebrated with the greatest solemnity: the *grande*es of the Porte, the officers of the seraglio, and in short the whole court are present; the horses are led through the streets of Constantinople, to the meadows, where they are left to graze. These meadows are situated around the capital, and the horses are watched night and day by Bulgarian peasants, who come from Romelia for the purpose. Their villages are exempt from taxes, and they enjoy several other immunities which amply compensate their trouble.

'The grand seignior attends the ceremony in person, and when the horses are on their way out from the seraglio, he places himself behind the window-blinds of Alay-Kioschk, a pavillion attached to the great wall of the seraglio, adjoining the *Devlet-Humajoun*, or government-gate, which gives the name of *Sublime Porte* to the Turkish government.'

The above two grand equeries, with the chief of the black eunuchs, and the grand vizir, form the four great officers of the crown, and are what is called the *Imperial Stirrup* of the Ottoman princes.

'This imperial stirrup,' M. Beauvoisis informs us, 'is now an empty name: it is, however, an imperfect image of the despotic form of the ancient government of the princes who founded the Ottoman empire, before they ascended the blood-stained throne of the latter Constantine.

'Previous to that period, the sultan had no other palace than a tent, no court but his military escort, and no trophies but the spoils of the conquered, which were carried before him.

'The complaints or petitions of his soldiers (for his sway was purely military) were laid at his feet when on horseback, and it was in his stable that his mercy or justice was supplicated. The general orders for the troops, the decrees of the prince, and his sentences were delivered on horseback, and it is to this ancient custom that the interior of the seraglio, where the grand seignior is to be found in person, owes its appellation of the

Imperial Stirrup. In the ministerial acts, the diplomatic intercourse of ambassadors, and in the firmans of the Sublime Porte, we constantly find this denomination, and all the notes of the foreign ambassadors are still addressed to the *Imperial Stirrup*.

'The guard of the interior of the seraglio is confided to the bostandgis, who were originally nothing else than gardeners. Their captain, the bostandgi-bochy, is the second great officer of the seraglio, and is entrusted with the internal police of the seraglio. He has also the benefit of steering the grand seignior when on the water. In the event of a fire, he is obliged to hasten to it, with all his bostandgis.

'Here it is proper to inform my readers, that the grand seignior, however despotic his government, considers himself bound to visit every fire that breaks out in the capital, attended by his whole court. The curses of the populace would infallibly be showered on his head, if he neglected the performance of this part of his royal duties. At all hours therefore, in winter and summer, the instant a fire is discovered, the grand seignior is apprized of it, and there are always horses saddled and bridled, with galleys furnished with rowers, ready to carry the royal retinue to the scene. These conflagrations are of frequent occurrence: during three successive years, I have seen them happen 5 or 6 times a year. Being regarded at Constantinople as the general signal of popular discontent, it would be to increase the tumult, were the grand seignior to refuse to hasten to the spot, chosen by the populace, at which to exhibit a *flaming* testimony of their disaffection.'

It is on these occasions, we are informed, that the *canaille* of Constantinople freely vent their indignation against the measures of government, and a few wholesome truths, no doubt, reach the ears of the *Imperial Ottoman Stirrup*.

The baltadgis of the seraglio are next described. These were originally, as their name imports, *hewers of wood*, and exclusively entrusted with furnishing the firewood for the baths and kitchens of the seraglio: their number has of late years been greatly increased, and they have received a semi-military organization. They now form part of the seraglio guards.

'It is worthy of remark,' M. Beauvoisins sagaciously observes, 'that the sultans have removed from their persons every species of military guard, which forms any part of the armed force of the empire: they have composed a household of domestics entirely, and every corps retains the name of the profession which it formerly exercised. The person of the sovereign is not less secure on this account. The seraglio is guarded by about 10,000 men, who certainly would not be able to resist a single battalion of Europeans, but they are sufficient to inspire fear and respect in the inhabitants of Constantinople, whose eyes

are not yet familiarized with the strange figures and costumes of what is emphatically called the interior, namely, the *seraglio*. If the most contemptible blackguard, attached to the palace, passes through the streets of Constantinople, or steps into a boat to convey him to Pera or Scutari, he affects the tone and gait of a grand vizir, treats with hauteur and contempt the common people, and even his signs are obeyed.

When an officer of the *seraglio* condescends to intermix with the inhabitants of the city, he never quits the first or inner gate of the palace without an escort of twenty or thirty domestics; he has no occasion to order them to follow him; as he passes through the different courts of the *seraglio*, his escort increases: it seems as if the rays of glory and riches with which he is surrounded were reflected on the motley groupe who compose his suite. In Europe, our lacquies aim at imitating their masters, but they take care to conceal their condition, and lay aside as often as they can the livery by which they are distinguished. At Constantinople, on the contrary, the servants are proud of their employment; they assume an air of consequence, and the *bostandgi* would scorn to exchange his badge of slavery for the musket of the soldier, exercised in the European manner.

The body-guards of the grand seignior are divided into two classes, the *peicks* and the *Solaks*. The latter wear gilt helmets, and are armed with a large halbert. They always precede the horse of the grand sultan, with their halberts reversed, or pointed downwards.

The *peicks* are armed with bows and arrows, which they use with uncommon address. They wear beards, and their heads are covered with an enormous cap, in the form of a helmet, to the crown of which long white feathers are fastened, and hang down on one side, in such a manner that those who walk on the right hand of the grand seignior, have these plumes hanging on the left, and *vice versa* with the opposite files. Thus a double row of feathers conceals his sacred person from the eyes of the vulgar. These guards carry their bows bent, and the arrows pointed outwards.

Besides this escort, the grand seignior also finds, on his way from the second gate of the *seraglio* to the door of the mosque (to which he repairs every Friday) a double row of *janizaries* who respectfully bow their heads as he passes them. This salute is returned by the latter, repeatedly bowing on the right and left as he passes.

After having thus described the interior constitution of the *seraglio*, the author proceeds to speak of the composition of the government. Our limits will only permit us to follow him in his details respecting the grand vizir, whose functions are perhaps as much misunderstood in Europe as the internal economy of the Turkish palace.



All the authority of the grand seignior virtually resides in the person of his vizir, who has the power of life and death over all the subjects in the empire, and even over the pachas or provincial governors. There is no particular form of appointing or installing a grand vizir, except the mere delivery of the seal of the empire from the hands of the sultan. The new vizir puts it into his bosom, with marks of the most profound respect, and it is never laid aside from his person. When he has occasion to use it, he takes it with great ostentation from his breast, kisses it, and returns it with the utmost ceremony into the little bag in which it is carried. When a vizir is deposed, an officer of the seraglio is dispatched to demand this seal, and when stripped of his talisman, the disgraced minister sinks into obscurity, with no recompense for his services, and *sometimes only* the rare felicity is granted him of being allowed to retire with his head on his shoulders!

'The Turks, in giving the name of vizir to their prime minister,' M. Beauvoisins continues, 'wish to convey an idea of the important and weighty duties which are imposed on him. The word vizir literally signifies *porter*.'

'The grand vizir is president of the Divan: he decides, as the supreme judge, all the causes brought before this council: he makes peace and war, signs treaties, raises contributions, and is commander in chief of the armies: he enjoys unlimited power, and is amenable to no one but his sovereign.'

'From the moment of his installation, the grand vizir gives a morning audience in the seraglio, and holds an afternoon's levee in his own palace, to exhibit his equity to the people. The unlimited power he possesses would be of the most dangerous tendency in other states; but it is the bulwark of the Ottoman empire. However great may be the power of the grand vizir, he never can aspire to the throne. The respect and affection of the Turks for the reigning family are such as to afford no hopes for an usurper.'

'It frequently happens that this minister, at his nomination, has not a single farthing in his pocket; but before he reaches his own residence, after his nomination, his treasures are sufficient to load several camels. He is followed from the seraglio by a crowd of hungry courtiers, who empty their purses into his cap, and an attendant carefully marks down their names, and the precise amount of their largesses.'

The grand vizir is generally chosen from among the *literate* of the empire—a class equally proverbial in Turkey for their "looped and windowed raggedness," as in Great Britain; and we cannot too much admire the *wholesome* practice of thus securing his favour in the dawn of his prosperity!

The work is terminated by an elaborate and well written



essay on the religion of Mahomet. The author has minutely described the ridiculous ceremonies attending the pilgrimages to Mecca, and the forms of worship adopted in the mosques. It is impossible to read his account of the Calendars, the Dervises, the Torlaquis, and the rest of the Turkish religious sectaries, without imbibing a most sovereign contempt for the whole system of the prophet. The age of chivalry, if such an age there ever was among the children of Mahomet, is indeed gone. The Dervises, whom all of us have been taught in our childhood to regard as a race of virtuous hermits, are now converted into sturdy beggars. According to our author's account,

'They can neither read nor write; they are beastly in their manners, and pass their lives in a state of shameless mendicancy. They frequent the baths, coffee-houses, and other receptacles for debauchery, where they can obtain a dinner, or a piece of money, for muttering a few prayers. When they meet a traveller at a distance from any town, in the woods or on the highway, they knock him down, strip him of his clothes and money, and tell him it is the will of God that he should be as naked as themselves. They pretend to foretell future events, and, like gipsies, prey on the credulity of the lower classes, by affecting to trace their destinies from an inspection of the palms of their hands.'

The following ingenious method of *raising the wind* resembles what we have heard of as being resorted to by some religious mountebanks among the illiterate in our own country. It is too humorous to withhold from our readers:

\* The torlaquis, or travelling dervises, generally lead about with them an old man of their order, an adept in fraud and imposture, and to whom they seem to pay divine honours. When they take up their quarters in a village, they lodge this animated mummy in the best house, and crowd around him to watch his words and gestures. The old man, assuming a great air of sanctity, mutters some prayers, suddenly rises up, and with deep groans beseeches his companions instantly to quit the village, which is on the eve of being destroyed, as a punishment for the sins of the inhabitants: the plot generally succeeds; the unfortunate villagers flock from all quarters, and fill the wallets of the torlaquis with alms, in order to avert the divine vengeance.'

We ought not to dismiss M. Beauvoisins, without confessing that we have received much entertainment and instruction from the perusal of his volume; and we can safely promise equal gratification to such of our readers as think it worth while to devote a leisure hour to the same object. Every thing relating to Turkey is of increasing interest: the *exploiteurs* of the French emperor have been these several years

busied in digging the mines which are to overthrow the Mussulman empire in the west, and it is curious to notice the facilities afforded by the degeneracy of the Turks themselves, to the execution of the projects of their enemies.

ART. III.—*Campagnes des Armées Francaises en Espagne et en Portugal; tome I.—or Campaigns of the French Armies in Spain and Portugal, in the Years 1808 and 1809, under the Command of his Majesty the Emperor and King and his Generals; preceded by a statistical Description of Spain and Portugal, and a History of the Events which preceded the Abdication of Charles IV.* Vol. I. 8vo. Paris, 1809.

IT has ever been the fate of Spain to be subjected to the domination of foreigners. This country was known to the Phenicians a thousand years before the christian era. The Carthaginians possessed themselves of it, and were driven out by the Romans; though these masters of the world could not subdue the native spirit of the inhabitants, but after long, numerous, and bloody conflicts. The proud Spaniards retired to their mountains, and often sacrificed to their vengeance powerful armies; nor was the conquest of the kingdom complete till the reign of Augustus. At the decline of the Roman empire, it was overrun by the barbarous hordes, who possessed themselves of all Europe, the Visigoths, the Suevi, the Alanni, the Vandals, and the Goths. At the end of the seventh century it became a prey to the Saracens and the Moors, who were not wholly expelled till towards the conclusion of the fifteenth. This brings us to the period of modern history, during which Spain has been subjected, first to an Austrian, and then to a French dynasty. Under the reign of the Bourbons her independence has been rather nominal than real.

Whatever harsh terms may be given, in the violence and rancour of political controversy, to the conduct of Buonaparte in dethroning the reigning family, we believe that every ruler of France, under similar circumstances, would have pursued the same conduct. The measure was obviously essential to the security of French preponderance; and the vices of the ancient government were so radical and extensive, that no other measure, probably, than a change of the governing powers, would have been adequate to the evil. Joseph Buonaparte is, doubtless, an usurper—so were the Bourbons a century ago. Thrones are not property, but trusts. We

wish Spain and all other nations to be independent, to be governed by native magistrates, and laws of her own choosing. But circumstances of irresistible weight have for many ages forced her to relinquish her rights; nor do we see any thing in the present frame of society, or the present constitution of man, which gives a hope that mankind will in our days be restored to his native rights, or raised to his native dignity.

It was to be expected that a change of the dynasty, and an attack upon the order of things, of which numbers were interested in the preservation, should provoke resistance. Had Europe been at peace, it seems probable that this resistance would not have been very powerful. It cannot be supposed that the body of thinking men, and the proprietors of the soil could be strongly attached to an infirm and decrepit government, which was felt principally in its abuses and oppressions. But the discontent of the clergy, aided by the fanaticism of the lower orders, and the attachment of some of the great nobility to their privileges, were sufficient to make a formidable insurrection. The success of the insurgents against the French general Dupont changed the nature of the insurrection into a regular war. The Austrian war has, by diverting the forces of the French emperor, protracted the resistance of the Spaniards, and it will ever remain a problem, if the Spanish councils had been directed by wisdom during the campaign of 1808, and the English auxiliary force had taken the field in Spain, instead of Portugal, whether Spanish independence might not have been secured.

This is the first of three volumes, intended to relate the events of this war; and as the description of sieges, marches, and battles cease to be very interesting, when they are no longer recent, and the passions are no longer engaged on one side or the other of the conflicting parties, this will probably be deemed the most useful part of the work. It contains a statistical account of Spain, compiled from the principal travellers and writers who have described that country. We are more indebted to foreigners than to native Spaniards for our knowledge of Spain, and very much to our own countrymen. Twiss, Bowles, Dalrymple, James, and Swinburne have put us in possession of much valuable matter. Townsend travelled through Spain in 1786 and 1787, and his work merits the reputation it has acquired. M. Bourgoing, though he depreciates the labours of Townsend, has not scrupled, in the latter editions of his own work, to make use of many observations of this judicious traveller, without acknowledgment; but it cannot be denied, that of all the travels through Spain, those of M. Bourgoing are the most satisfactory, both for the statistical details, and the descrip-

tive account of literature, sciences, character, and manners of the nation. The press of Madrid has lately produced a work, containing very circumstantial details of the productions of the different provinces of the kingdom, and on their arts and manufactures. It is entitled, *Memorias politicas y Economicas sobre la Industria, las Minas, &c. de Espana*. More than twenty volumes of this work have been already published. The author is Don Eugenio Laraga. Last year an *Itineraire descriptif de l'Espana*, by M. Laborde, in five octavo volumes, appeared at Paris. We have not seen it; but it is said to be the best work published upon Spain, containing an immensity of researches, and displaying a profound knowledge both of history and of all the branches of the administration. The compilers of this volume have made great use of the Itinerary of M. Laborde. As the work before us necessarily consists of a number of distinct and slightly connected details, we must content ourselves with extracting, for the amusement of our readers, a few facts with which we have been struck in the perusal of it.

The temperature of Spain is not so great as we should expect from its latitude; this is the effect of the great elevation of the country.

\* The interior of this kingdom is a flat; it is the most elevated in Europe of those which are of a great extent. Although from the north-east the country has a gradual declivity, the interior of the two Castiles is a plain, the mean elevation of which is about 300 fathoms (toises). The barometrical height of Madrid is, according to M. Banza, 26 inches, 2 lines, 3-3ds; consequently, it is lower by two inches or 1-14th (1-13th) than the mean height of the mercury at the level of the ocean. The mean barometrical height of Madrid, observed by M. Banza, gives an elevation of 309 fathoms above the level of the ocean. Consequently, this capital is of the same height as Inspruck, a town situated in one of the most elevated passes of the Tyrol. It is five times higher than Paris, three times higher than Mount Valerian, and 1-third than Geneva. The palace of St. Ildefonso, from the observations of M. Thalachan, has 593 fathoms of elevation, which is higher than the margin of the crater of Vesuvius. The Spanish is the only monarch of Europe who has a palace in the region of the clouds. The height of the plain of the Castiles has an influence on its temperature. One is astonished not to find orange trees in the open air, under the 40th degree of latitude. The mean temperature of Madrid appears to be 12° of Reaumur (53 3-5ths Far.), whilst that of Paris is 9° (48°), and that of Toulon 13° (55 2-5ths°). Genoa is 4° more north than Madrid, nevertheless its temperature is 2° (3 3-5ths°) more elevated than that of the capital of Spain.

Notwithstanding the elevation of the Pyrenées, they form a very feeble and imperfect barrier between the peninsula and France. There are from the Col de Baynoul, the defile nearest the Mediterranean to the Val d'Aran, near the sources of the Garonne, through the Pyrenees, no less than 75 passages, of which eighteen are practicable for cavalry, and seven for carriages and even for artillery.

Of the rivers of Spain the properties of one are uncommon.

'The Tinto or Azeche is an extraordinary river, which has its origin in the Sierra Morena, and falls into the Mediterranean, near Niébla. It has its name from the colour of its waters, which are as yellow as a topaz. They have the property of hardening and petrifying the sand in a surprizing manner. Two stones, which rest one upon the other, are so firmly united in less than a year, that they form but one. This river dries up the plants which grow upon its banks, and the roots of the trees, to which it communicates the colour of its streams. The verdure disappears from the places which it washes, nor can fish live in its bed. Its waters kill the worms of the cattle which drink of it, its taste is disgusting to all animals, except the goats. The Tinto would preserve these singular properties, if it did not receive a number of other streams, which change its nature.'

Among the natural products of Spain may be reckoned the sugar-cane. This valuable reed was transported from India to Egypt, and from thence to Sicily. The Moors introduced it into the kingdom of Granada. When they were expelled in 1483, fourteen plantations and two sugar-mills were discovered. The Spaniards, after the discovery of America, carried the plant there; and its cultivation in the new world has injured its produce in Spain. Still, however, there is a good deal raised on the coast of Granada; enough to furnish a considerable crop of sugar. The canes are as abundant in saccharine juice as those of America.

The French have an infinite advantage over the insurgent Spaniards, and even over their British allies, in the possession of an active and serviceable cavalry. Spain was, in the time of the Romans, celebrated for its breed of horses; but the encouragement to raise good horses has been in latter times so small, that in many provinces the race is almost extinct. The male is universally preferred for the purposes of agriculture; and it is proved by experience, that when the mare couples with the ass, she loses much of her fertility. On this account a remount, or a sudden augmentation of the cavalry, is absolutely impossible.

In our own country we are busy in improving the race of

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our sheep, by the introduction of the Merino breed. But, strange to say, in former times sheep were sent from England to Spain, for the very same end. At the request of Henry III. Catherine, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, received for her portion many thousand sheep, with the finest wool, in 1394. These became accustomed to the Castiles, and were crossed by other species introduced from Africa. This is said to be the origin of the Merino race, so valuable for the fineness of their fleeces. There is reason to believe that this race may be propagated over Europe without suffering degeneration. They have been naturalized in France, and in Saxony, Wirtzburg, Denmark, Sweden, and England. They may be crossed by the native sheep of other countries, and still preserve their good qualities entire. But for this end it is necessary to castrate all the males which are the produce of the mixture, and to unite the females only with the rams of the pure race, well selected. It has been proved that the males exercise an influence, which may be calculated at two-thirds, upon the qualities of the progeny.

The Merinos are those flocks which travel twice every year, passing a part of the year in one place, and the remainder in another. The union of all these flocks, which belong to the rich monasteries, chapters, grandees, and other persons of consequence, is called the *mesta*. They have a regular council, in which laws and regulations are passed. Euric, king of the Goths, was the founder of these assemblies, which still subsist. The flocks, the union of which forms the *mesta*, commonly consist each of 10,000 sheep. Each flock is conducted by a superior, named *mayoral*, who directs the route, and whom the shepherds obey.

The *mayoral* has under him fifty shepherds and as many dogs. The number of Merinos has varied. In the sixteenth century it was seven millions. In the next, complaints were made that the number was reduced to two millions and a half; Townsend estimated them, in 1787, at four millions: Bourgoing and Laborde at present reckon them to be five. Adding this number to those which are stationary, the whole number of sheep which Spain possesses, will be thirteen millions.

The most enlightened men have raised their voices against the *mesta*, as one of those institutions which tend to impoverish and depopulate the country; and it seems that its existence is preserved by the preponderating influence of the great proprietors. Its direct tendency is to make an immense common of some of the most fertile provinces of the kingdom. The following enumeration of its evils merits attention.

' 1. The fifty thousand men which are employed, are so many subjects lost to agriculture and population, particularly in the provinces where labourers are wanting to cultivate the ground.

' 2. An immense tract of valuable land is converted into pasturage, and produces nothing. It follows, that the inhabitants of these countries can neither work, nor provide for their necessities. They are often in want even of necessary food.

' 3. The devastations committed on the cultivated lands, which lie in the route of the flocks, are enormous, and the proprietors have no right to demand an indemnity. The damages are the more considerable, as the first journey is made when the corn is far advanced, and the second, when the vines are covered with grapes.

' 4. The common pastures, which they meet with, are equally laid waste, so that the flocks of the country are deprived of their subsistence.

' 5. The flocks of the mesta are of no service to agriculture, since their manure is never applied to the cultivated land.

' 6. The conductors and the shepherds commit all sorts of disorder on their journey; they every where abuse their right of citing individuals to the tribunal of the mesta, which almost always gives judgment in their favour.'

The life of a shepherd is necessarily a life of indolence and vice. Our readers have only to go to Kensington gardens at present, to observe the Spanish shepherds. Half a dozen stout men, whose labour might raise food for a hundred mouths, are condemned to lounge under the trees, and play at cards all day long. To earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, was the sentence passed upon the descendants of Adam; and it was a beneficent sentence. Labour, proportioned to the strength, is the proper preservative both of the health and morals of the mass of the people.

Spain was formerly highly populated; though there is reason to believe that the number of its ancient inhabitants has been much exaggerated. It has been said, that in the time of Cæsar, they amounted to forty or fifty millions. It is at least probable that they were double their present numbers. The little kingdom of Granada, under the Moors, contained three millions of inhabitants. In 1688, the whole kingdom contained but twelve millions, and so rapid was the diminution, that on the accession of Philip V. in 1700, it was reduced to eight millions. The war of the succession followed, and a representation was made upon its conclusion, by Don de Ganges, that the population of the Casteils, which form near three-fourths of the Spanish monarchy, was no more than four millions; at this epoch then the whole population of Spain amounted only to six millions.

This statement will abundantly justify the speculations of Mr. Malthus as to the *happy* effect of war in preventing the miseries of a superabundant population; though we are still without the proof that the individuals of this reduced population were happier than when, under the old-fashioned blessings of peace and plenty, there existed double the number of human beings to share the produce of the soil. Under the Bourbons, and a settled order of things, population revived. In 1747 the number was near seven millions and a half; in 1788 it had risen to more than ten millions; and in 1798 it was estimated at twelve millions; though the correctness of this estimation is very doubtful, it cannot be doubted that the consequences of the present struggle will be to throw the country back again into the same condition as it was in the beginning of the last century. Joseph Buonaparte will be the monarch of ruined towns and deserted villages.

The causes of this depopulation are enumerated in the following series of propositions.

‘1. The irruption of the Moors, at the commencement of the eighth century, diminished the population greatly. Many Spaniards perished under the sword of this nation; still more emigrated from their country, or perished from misery. The numbers, which the Moors brought into Spain, were not sufficient to replace those who had emigrated or perished.’

‘2. The plague, which ravaged Europe in 1341 and 1347, entered Spain by the port of Almeria. It so depopulated the kingdom, that many towns were nearly emptied, and the number of inhabitants was reduced one-third. The same scourge often renewed its ravages in 1483, 1488, 1501, 1506. In 1540, the country suffered much from a general famine; terrible maladies swept off the eleventh part of the people. The plague of Andalusia, in 1649, took off 100,000 persons at Cadiz and at Seville. There are almost always, in the southern provinces, putrid fevers, intermittent or contagious.’

This, however, proves nothing, unless it can be shewn that the same fevers did not exist in ancient times; but to proceed—

‘Murderous and epidemic fevers have reigned latterly and for some years in these same countries. These maladies and the plague ought to be regarded as the original causes of the depopulation of Spain. The lands remained uncultivated. Individuals, who escaped the pestilence, appropriated the lands of the defunct proprietors. Such is the origin of the great properties. Immense tracts of land, belonging to the same proprietor, were no longer cultivated, for want of hands, and could not afford subsistence to a new population. Spain can never be re-established. There are many uncultivated tracts of many leagues of extent.

Bernardo Ward, who was employed by the administration, assures us, that in 1750, 18,000 square leagues of the most fertile land were left fallow, and that more than 2,000,000 of persons lived without labour.

' 3. For more than seven centuries, from 714 to 1492, Spain was devastated by continual wars with the Moors, and by horrid civil wars. These wars are one of the principal causes of its depopulation.

' 4. Most writers attribute the depopulation of Spain to the constant emigrations from the country, since the discovery of America. M. Laborde assures us, that this emigration has never been sufficient to diminish the population: he observes, that the provinces of Arragon, which did not participate in this emigration for more than two centuries, nevertheless partook of the languor and misery of the other provinces of Spain; and that, from the moment they were privileged to communicate with the Indies, industry and commerce took a new spring, and augmented the population.

' 5. The foreign and civil wars, which have desolated Spain, from the expulsion of the Moors to 1715. Numerous armies passed into Italy, Germany, Holland, Flanders, and Portugal. A small portion only returned into Spain. This kingdom, successively at war with all the great powers of Europe, has enriched its enemies; its treasures have been dispersed wherever it has displayed its banners.

' 6. The Spanish possessions in Italy and Flanders have been equally injurious to the country. A great number of Spaniards have been passing into them for two hundred years.

' 7. The conquests of the Spaniards over the Moors produced the same effect. As they gained possession of a province, the greatest part of the Moors, who had occupied it, retired into Africa; the conquered countries were half peopled, and regained their population only at the expence of the other parts of the kingdom.

' 8. The expulsion of the Jews. Ferdinand and Isabella issued an edict at Toledo on 30th March, 1492. against the advice of a part of their council, which ordered all the Jews to be converted in six months, or to depart the kingdom. This wound was deep. They banished 900,000 Jews, who were their most industrious subjects; and who carried along with them great wealth, arts, and industry. About 100,000 Jewish families pretended to be converted, remained in Spain, and afterwards furnished victims to the inquisition.

' 9. The expulsion of the Moors, in 1614, by Philip III. has been generally assigned as the sole cause of the depopulation of Spain. The Moors quitted the kingdom to the number of more than two millions, and left the villages wholly deserted. These two measures, political, perhaps, in appearance, had terrible consequences to the state. They diminished the population of Spain by more than three millions.

‘ Such are the principal causes of the depopulation of Spain ; others of inferior importance have also contributed to it.

‘ 10. The continual attacks of the Barbary pirates have been of infinite detriment, for three hundred years, to the population of Spain, in consequence of the prodigious number of captives made on the sea and the coasts. The count of *Campomanes* has calculated that there were always 30,000 at Algiers in the last century. This evil has ceased since the peace between Spain and the regency of Algiers, and the power of the Spanish marine.

‘ 11. The bad system of finance, and the vexations in consequence of it, have contributed to the depopulation of the state, according to *Osorio* and *Campomanes*.

‘ 12. The multiplicity of convents and of fetes.

‘ 13. The *mesta*, of which we have spoken, still contributes to depopulate Spain. The 50,000 individuals, employed in it, lead a life entirely pastoral, and do not marry.

‘ 14. The great properties are an equal injury to population and to agriculture. They are much multiplied in Spain. There are often found domains, which have 3, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 15 leagues of extent, belonging to the same master. A great part of these lands is waste. The useless condition of these lands, and the want of establishments sufficient for their culture, are the causes of the mischief. The farmers have twice as much ground as they are able properly to manage.

‘ 15. The *presides* or galleys. A great number of persons are often condemned to those for slight offences.

‘ 16. The great number of mendicants or vagabonds.

‘ 17. The annual emigration from Gallicia. Numerous troops every year leave this province to go to Genoa, Leghorn, and Portugal; they are the Savoyards of Paris. Their number is usually 80,000. They are so many lost to Spain.

‘ 18. The manufactures and monopolies of the government.

‘ The same obstacles which oppose the population, prevent likewise the prosperity of agriculture.

‘ Many of these causes still exist; but measures have been taken to remedy them. Agriculture and manufactures have been ameliorated. A great augmentation of population has succeeded, as we have seen. But population and agriculture will never arrive at a degree of prosperity proportioned to the extent of Spain, whilst the laws of the *mesta* remain unchanged, whilst labour is not encouraged, and until numerous colonies of strangers are called into the country.’

The Inquisition was an institution more terrible from the remembrance of its former tyranny, and its former atrocities, than from any recent acts of injustice or oppression. It had become changed almost into a common ecclesiastical court, and its abolition, by the Buonapartes, was more a trap for gaining popularity, than a benefit conferred on the nation.



Even the fettered press of Paris is obliged to acknowledge this truth.

*'Inquisition.* This tribunal, charged with watching over the purity of the faith, was created in 1680 (1580,) by Ferdinand and Isabella, on a plan devised by the cardinal Gonzalez de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo. It was, even at its establishment, as much an engine of state as a religious institution. There were fifteen tribunals of the inquisition in Spain. This tribunal was no more what it had been formerly, according to the report of M. M. Bourgoing and Laborde, whose testimony cannot be suspected. Its judgments are, at present, dictated by sentiments of mildness and peace; toleration has an influence upon its decrees, which are generally mild in proportion to the magnitude of the offence, imprisonment, stripes, or the galleys are almost the sole punishments to which it condemns crimes, which would otherwise be punished with death. This tribunal is at present more an instrument of police, than a religious authority; it is, properly speaking, in the hands of the government, which provokes or directs its operations, and checks them when it thinks that they proceed too far. *'Descriptive Itinerary of Spain, by M. Laborde, tom.v. p. 25. He adds, page 26, It concerns more the glory than the tranquillity of Spain to suppress the Inquisition. There has been no auto-da-fé since 1680. There have been some executions of heretics, in the 18th century.'*

This is a valuable book, comprising in a condensed form much information, which it would take considerable time and labour to extract from larger works.

ART. IV.—*Rechèrches sur le Système nerveux en general, &c.*

*Researches into the nervous System in general, and particularly into that of the Brain: a Memoir presented to the Institute of France, 14th of March, 1808; followed by Observations on the Report made to that Society, by its Commissioners. By F. I. Gall and G. Spurzheim. 4to. Paris. 1809. Dulau, Soho Square.*

DOUBTLESS the state of society in the metropolis of France and in that of England are very different. We regard the French as a frivolous nation; and the Englishman contemplates with abundance of self-complacence the superior gravity and solidity of character of his countrymen. But we are inclined to believe that the public mind is really better directed in France than in England; that the great body of persons in easy circumstances take more interest in works of

literature, belles-lettres, or science; that discoveries are more rapidly diffused, and more honour paid to the genius or industry of the discoverers on the other side of the channel than on this. Perhaps the moral reason of this difference may be found in the circumstance, that the minds of Englishmen are almost wholly given up to trade or politics.

M. Gall is well known as the proposer of certain novel and eccentric opinions on the form of the human cranium, and its relation to the moral and intellectual powers of the individual. He has promulgated his theories, in courses of lectures, in many cities both of Germany and France. At Paris his lectures were crowded; all the men of science, and all the pretenders to science flocked to them. Had they been given in London, we doubt whether he would have gained a dozen auditors. We remember that that truly original genius, John Hunter, could hardly muster twenty pupils to his courses. But to attend the demonstrations of M. Gall was quite the rage at Paris. Some very distinguished men (M. Cuvier among others) seemed inclined to become his disciples. However this popularity lasted but for a season. It has been whispered, that the governing powers discovered something *heterodox* and *dangerous* in his doctrines; and the *savans* of Paris are too prudent to countenance any one who is not honoured with the smiles of their imperial master.

The work before us, however, is free from all suspicion of evil tendency. It is simply an anatomical memoir, proposing a new method of investigating the anatomy of the brain; or rather (as M. Gall's critics at least contend) the revival of an old mode of dissection, proposed by Varolus, and employed afterwards with more regularity of detail by Ouessens. The most usual method practised in the schools of anatomy, is that of Vesalius, which consists in taking off slices of the superior portions of the brain, and remarking the parts which come into view at each successive stroke. Now if every thing is fairly brought into view, and the forms, situations, and dependencies of all the parts properly exhibited, by this mode of dissection, it would seem to be a matter of no great moment, whether this or M. Gall's method ought to be preferred. It may be thought that the choice might be safely left to the discretion, or the habits of the demonstrator.

Still, however, one mode might be much more philosophic than the other; there may be a certain natural order among parts resulting from their use and structure, which, not to observe, would be a violation of all method and precision. In explaining the structure of the heart, the anatomist naturally

follows the course of the circulation: he begins with the ascending and descending vena cava, thence to the right auricle, right ventricle, &c. till he has pursued the stream of blood into the aorta, and the general circulation. Our great countryman, Willis, has long ago objected to the method employed by Vesalius, in demonstrating the parts of the brain.

*'Hinc factum,'* says he, *'quod anatomici in cerebro dissecando, quid primum, quid secundum, quidque deinde ordine natura collocatur, haud satis attendentes, globum ejus quasi in taleolas resciderint, et phaenomena tali casu emergentia, pro veris cerebri partibus facile habuerint; cum interea tamen ab aliis dissectione aliter institutâ partes et processus a prioribus longe diversi apparcant.'*

If therefore M. Gale has conceived more distinct notions of the functions of the different parts of this important organ than his predecessors, and of their dependence upon each other, it is fair that he should be allowed his own order of dissection, and that a candid attention should be given to the reasons assigned for his preference.

The nature of the cortical substance of the brain is first considered. This substance, he says, is found not only accompanying the medullary substance of the brain and its immediate appendages, but

*'it may be found at all the origins of the nerves, it visibly accompanies them in their course; it finally covers all the nervous expansions; for example, on the skin, when it is called the rete mucosum of Malpighi; it forms the almost liquid pulp of the labyrinth, a part of the mucous membrane of the nose, the surface of the retina,' &c. &c.*

He would call then this substance the *matrix* of the nerves.

We see not that he has, by the mere adoption of this term, made any advances to (what he professes) the determination of the true use and destination of the cortical substance of the brain. That a substance similar to the cortical substance accompanies the nerves in their course, and enters therefore into their composition, can hardly be proved by anatomy; and the analogy between this substance and the mucous expansions is mere hypothesis. The cineritious substance of the brain, says M. Gall, *produces* the medullary or white part. But how is it *produced* itself? Is not this explaining *ignotum per ignotius*?

The ganglions, our authors consider as so many little brains, or, as it has been expressed by Biabat, a particular centre or focus of a nervous system, independent in its actions of the others, and having nothing in common with analogous organs.

(the brain, we presume, or other ganglions) except by communicating branches.

The opinions of M. Gall on the structure of the spinal marrow seem still more gratuitous, and less supported by dissection. In the caterpillar, the spinal, or rather abdominal marrow, is a nervous cord, extended from one extremity to the other: different masses of a gelatinous matter form little swellings at short intervals, from which the nervous filaments issue, in numbers and magnitude proportioned to the size of the swelling. This construction is considered as consisting of as many nervous systems as there are swellings, united by a common cord, which is probably formed of nervous filaments from all the ganglions. In fish and birds the same construction may be observed; but in the mammiferae it is rather inferred than proved. 'The different swellings approach so near to each other,' say our authors, 'that they appear to form a cord nearly of the same magnitude throughout.' Haller, who well knew the modules in animals of an inferior order, could perceive nothing similar in the brain and spinal marrow of man or quadrupeds; and our authors confess that they would have escaped their own observation, had they not been impressed with the uniformity of the laws of nature. They assert that they may be made evident in man and quadrupeds, by dividing the whole spinal marrow; but so many precautions seem necessary to succeed, that we believe many will be disposed to think this supposed discovery exists only in the imagination of the discoverer. It is fair, however, to observe that the commissioners of the Institute, who have examined and reported upon the memoir of M. M. Gall and Spurzheim, acknowledge that these gentlemen have laid before them a prepared spinal marrow of a calf, in which may be observed a slight swelling (*une sorte de renflement léger*) between each pair of nerves. They assert at the same time, that one of their colleagues, who had undertaken to examine this point, has already ascertained that no sensible swellings are to be found in animals sufficiently analogous to the calf.

In justice to the authors we shall extract a passage, which seems to contain all the material points comprehended in their system. It is taken from the section on the brain.

'It is the same then, with the cerebral membrane as with the expansion of all the nerves, commencing with the retina and even the common integuments; and the same laws are observed in the formation of the brain and cerebellum, as in all the other nervous systems; every where the origin and successive increase is affected by the mediation of a gelatinous substance, and the ultimate expansion is covered by the same substance, as many parts are deficient in animals, which constitute the human brain,

in these the hemispheres are less complicated, and in appearance more symmetrical; and they form, in animals of very simple construction, merely a uniform expansion, hollow internally.

‘ There may be shewn, therefore, an apparatus altogether peculiar in the successive increase and development of the nervous system. Many considerable swellings present a tissue, which is produced by a transverse band. One may be observed in the peduncles of the brain of brutes, for example, of the sheep; another at the exterior borders of the tubercula quadrigemina; a third between the optic layers and the corpora striata; a fourth on the anterior borders of the grey substance in the great cavities: by reversing the optic nerves, we meet at first with a fifth; and by raising a part of the grey (cineritious) substance, we see a sixth and a seventh. The three last are at the distance of two lines from each other. All these little bands form a sort of seam, both internally and externally.’

‘ These truths become the more striking, when we compare the laws of vegetation with those of the nervous system; for we then see that nature follows the same type in the organization both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. It is true, that the comparison we have made between the laws of the organization of nervous systems, and those of the organization of a tree, has not been generally apprehended. But we have found with much pleasure the same laws established in the *Metamorphose des Plantes*, by the celebrated Gœthe, and in the *Essais sur l’Organisation des Plantes*, by M. Aubert de Petit-Thouars.

‘ Plants receive their first aliment from the cotyledons, which transmit the emulsion or milk with which they are filled. Thus the origin of the plumule resembles that of the nervous filaments in a pulpy substance. Is the plant to increase? There are formed swellings, thickenings of the bark, buds, which give birth to new ligneous fibrils, of which the inferior, directed downwards, serve for the root, or means of implantation; the others lengthen upwards, and form the tree. In the herb and the reed, nature forms at short intervals points of repose, circular swellings filled with a new nourishing substance, which presents analogically the same tissue, the same transverse bands, the same hardness as a ganglion of nerves; there proceed from it equally new fibres, which appear to take their origin from this centre, although they communicate with those which are inferior to them, notwithstanding the appearance of interruption. All the branches of a tree then have a mutual communication, each bearing another plant similar to that from which it is produced, by an implantation upon the trunk; each has its individual economy, as we see by a graft. Thus we see how a tree always augments by little plants being superadded, all communicating together from the root to the top. In like manner the nervous system receives its addition by new nervous systems superadded, and in communication one with the other. We have observed that the new ganglions modify the functions of the nervous systems, which



continue one upon the other.' (This phrase is to us unintelligible.) 'The functions of the ligneous fibrils are equally modified, so as to produce simple germs, germs with many leaves, then with flowers, and finally with fruit. There is equally an expansion in the leaves, and a parenchyma disseminated over the whole superficies.'

We are not surprised that others have not perceived an analogy which M. M. Gall and Spurzheim think so striking. There are no two objects in nature in which a warm imagination may not trace an analogy, by considering only the points of resemblance, and neglecting the points of difference. The commissioners of the Institute well remark on this passage,

'We avow likewise that we do not perceive the analogy between these masses of grey matter, in passing through which the medullary fibres receive accessions of new matter, and the rings which surround the base of the new branches of trees. In a tree the branches arise successively one from the other; but in the nervous system, all is formed simultaneously. In this it is impossible to find any other than an accidental resemblance.'

Without examining more closely this pretended analogy, we may see from it the fundamental doctrine of M. Gall's system. In the old theory the brain is regarded as the origin of the nervous system: from it the white filaments called nerves, which are known to be the instruments of motion and sensation, are conceived to originate. The brain is conceived to be the focus or centre from which the nerves are emitted as rays, and distributed over the body. But M. Gall considers the system of nerves, as a whole, to consist of a number of independent systems, having nevertheless many communications with each other. The organs appropriated to the vital functions, or, as our authors express themselves,

'The systems of organic life sometimes exist in a condition of absolute independence; nevertheless, by the effect of ordinary laws, they are connected with each other by the anastomosis of nerves. Thus the whole of organic life is linked reciprocally with animal life, by means of the communicating branches of the spinal marrow, the par vagum, and glosso-pharyngean branches of the fifth and sixth pairs, which join the intercostal nerve. The union of the different organs of animal life, those of the senses, for example, and the other parts of the brain, in each of the hemispheres, by the means of anastomoses, establishes so many connexions between these organs, that we cannot always assign their exact limits, and it becomes impossible to circumscribe with precision, by anatomy, all the organs of the brain.'

This, we must observe, is really no more than the old doctrine of nervous sympathy, which all pathologists have endeavoured to explain by the anastomosis, or, to speak more correctly, the interlacing of nerves. It is probable that the theory is fundamentally just; though writers have not hitherto been very successful in their application of it to the phenomena of life: nor do we find that any material addition to our knowledge of the laws of nervous sympathy has been made by the labours of these anatomists.

M. Gall, it will appear then, considers the brain rather as an appendage to the nerves, than the nerves as originating in the brain: and we must confess that we think this the strongest part of his reasoning. There are many animals, he observes, in which a point of union of the nerves, that is to say, a brain, is not necessary to sensation, or (as it ought to have been said) to external appearances of sensation. The turtle, the hog, and some other animals, shew by their motions that they possess both sensation and volition, after the brain has been entirely removed from the body. But the true inference from this fact is, that the true brain, that is to say, a medullary substance, with the properties and powers of brain, is not confined to the encephalon, but is diffused through the whole spinal marrow. This is clear from the eel; in which animal, when it has been divided into many pieces, each piece seems to retain its sensibility. But if the spinal marrow be destroyed in either of the pieces, the apparent sensibility of the part is destroyed. In this animal then we may say that the spinal marrow of each separate piece performs the functions of the brain.

If the inferior part of the medulla oblongata and spinal marrow were no more than an elongation of the brain, its volume ought to be in a direct proportion to that of the cerebral mass; which is contradicted by the inspection of the brains and other parts of the nervous system of all animals. In the horse, the ox, the sheep, &c. the brain is much smaller than in man, whilst the medulla oblongata and spinal marrow much exceed in magnitude the same parts in man. The facts would be directly the reverse, if the one were a mere elongation of the other. This fact, however, is no discovery of M. Gall's. It has been long known; M. Sœmmering has taken particular notice of it; and the successive researches of Monro, of Broschaska, and Keil, have served to correct the erroneous notions formerly entertained concerning the structure of nerves, and to destroy the opinion that they should be all derived from the medullary substance of the brain, and through it from the cortical substance. At the same time it must be allowed that the old opinion is at this day far from being

eradicated. Professor Ackermann of Heidelberg, Walter of Berlin, Chémisier, Sabatier, and Portail, consider the medulla spinalis as a mere production and elongation of the medulla oblongata. Even Cuvier has expressed himself in a manner which leaves some doubt as to his real opinion. When he calls the medulla oblongata a production of the brain, he may intend no more than its anatomical position considered with regard to the other contents of the cranium.

The direction of the fibres of the medulla oblongata evidently proves that they come from below upwards, and not that they descend from above downwards. This has been well remarked by Sæmmering, with regard to several nerves of the medulla oblongata; and long ago Santorini was forced to admit, that it is not till after having descended from the brain that the fifth pair of nerves makes a turn and proceeds upwards, if it is not as probable, says he, that this pair comes from below like the accessory nerve.

All the nerves increase in the form of a cone, in their progress to the organs which are under their influence, whether they receive accessions from ganglions, or their course be uninterrupted. Why then is it asked should the brain only diminish, so as in its elongation to present only medulla oblongata and spinalis? If the nerves were only a continuation of these substances, would not the direction of the cone be reversed?

In fœtuses born without heads, the nerves and spinal marrow are perfect. They cannot then be derived from a part which does not exist. It has been common for authors to allege, that these fœtuses had been originally formed with brains, but that they had been destroyed by a dropsy of the part, which, having destroyed the membranes and cranium, had produced the dissolution and absorption of the greater part of the cerebral substance. But is it not more probable that so great a disease would occasion the death of the fœtus, and a consequent abortion? A child has never been born, which presented any recent traces of this destruction. If a disease has been able to destroy the bones and membranes, how happens it that much softer parts, as the olfactory, optic, and acoustic nerves are often found in imperfect specimens of this mal-conformation? They add,

\* In the cases where no traces can be found, neither of the brain, membranes, nor bones, it must be admitted that these parts have never existed. This becomes indisputable by the examination of complete acephali. Sæmmering speaks of a fœtus of eight months, well nourished, and wholly without the spinal marrow. We have dissected at Halle, with professor Loder, a fœtus, which

had only the parts of the body situated below the navel. We found in it no other intestines than the kidneys, the female organs, the intestines of the hypogastrium, and the trunks of the large veins and arteries. The vertebræ, which existed, contained a spinal marrow, from which the ordinary nerves proceeded. We made the same observation at Bremen, in a fœtus, wholly deprived of the head and cervical vertebræ, which we dissected with Dr. Olbers. Sandifort cites many similar facts, observed by Mappus, Littre, Tatini, Schalhammer, Vogli, Winslow, Lecat, Sue; and a great number may be found in the memoirs published in 1740, by the Academy of Sciences of Paris, and in the *Bibliothèque choisie de Médecine*, by M. Planque, T. i. 1748.

We must remark on this passage that the whole point under discussion turns upon the meaning affixed to the phrase of a nerve having its *origin* or otherwise in the brain. No one can suppose that the nerves are really an excretion or direct production of the brain. The facts just cited incontestably prove the contrary: and indeed the well known experiments on the regeneration of nerves have abundantly proved that, like all the other parts of the body, the nerves are produced by arterial action. Whether the nerves therefore originate in the brain, or terminate in the brain, must be a question regarding more the functions than the mere structure of the parts; and to be determined more by physiological than anatomical considerations.

We will, however, extract another passage.

‘ Let us take a survey of the gradual scale of sensible beings. The sensible substance, no more than a pulp in the polypi, gradually collects into nervous filaments and common trunks in beings a little more elevated. To establish a still more extensive connexion with the external world, nature has added apparatuses always multiplied in proportion to the relations which the species are to possess; thus it is, by the successive addition of new organs, even proportioned to the faculties, that nature marches from scale to scale, and arrives at length at the most complicated being, that is to say, at man, only by the superposition of cerebral productions; it is only by the additions of cerebral substance that the brain of any animal whatever can become that of a more perfect animal; as it is only by the subtractions of the same substance that the intelligence of man can be reduced to the simple faculties of the brute.’

In the following short recapitulation the authors comprise nearly the whole of the system which they aim at establishing:

‘ 1st, That the gelatinous substance is truly the matrix of the nervous systems, whether it be considered as giving origin to

them, or as an apparatus for reinforcing them, and giving new modifications :

‘ 2d, That all the nervous systems produce a final expansion terminated by a pulpy substance :

‘ 3d, That there are as many particular systems as there are different functions, but that all communicate together by means of anastomoses :

‘ 4th, That each system of animal life is double :

‘ 5th, That these double systems are combined and brought into unity of action by means of the commissures of the brain :

‘ 6th, In consequence of all this, there neither does nor can exist any common centre of all the sensations, of all the thoughts, and of all the volitions :

‘ 7th, That finally the unity of the individual will always remain a mystery.’

We feel no regret at the dethronement of the brain from its ancient empire, and function of being *the seat of the soul*. We have always thought that giving a substance, presumed to be immaterial, a seat or habitation was a perfect incongruity in language, a real metaphysical absurdity. The unity of the individual is the result of consciousness. The individual comparing the present train of sensations and ideas with the past, or the images of the past, is conscious of the identity of the greater number of them ; and indeed of the component parts of them all ; though it may be that the combinations of the parts are infinitely varied. This consciousness, referred to the percipient being, seems to constitute the unity and identity of that being.

The authors think that the whole medullary substance of the brain is of a fibrous texture. Every circumvolution of the brain consists of two orders of fibres ; one coming from the external nervous system (if we understand the distinction right), entering the brain and being carried through the substance ; another arising from the cineritious substance of the brain itself, and (if too we understand aright) going out of the brain, and diffusing itself over the body. The ventricles are formed by a partition between these two orders of fibres, but we confess we do not exactly comprehend the mechanism described. But it seems (and we believe truly) that these cavities have a communication with all the circumvolutions of the brain. Hence in hydrocephalus the circumvolutions are unfolded, and stretched out like a bag or bladder, so that there is no rupture or dissolution of the mass of the brain. In consequence, the intellectual faculties are often little impaired, though there has been for a length of time a considerable effusion into the ventricles. The circumvolutions have their fibres perpendicular to the exterior periphery of the



ventricles; they are duplicatures of the fibrous vertical layers. In every circumvolution, when cut through in a proper direction, a middle line may be discovered, in which a separation may be effected; so that the contiguous sides continue smooth and strait, without any appearance of the rupture of vessels. This fact is admitted by the commissioners of the Institute, and appears to establish an important and novel fact, regarding the interior structure of the brain. The authors have given many different proofs of this fact, which are sufficiently satisfactory.

The truths, which, it is granted by the commissioners of the Institute, have been first brought to light by the industry of these scientific anatomists, are several. 1st. They have been the first to distinguish the two orders of fibres, of which the medullary substance of the brain is composed, the first of which diverge in coming from the peduncles, whilst the others converge in their course towards the commissures; or, as they express it themselves, which by their union with the similar fibres of the opposite hemisphere, form the substance of the commissures. 2d. They have rendered highly probable, what had been partially observed by their predecessors, that the nerves called cerebral, ascend from the medulla spinalis, and do not descend from the brain, and have either greatly enfeebled, if not wholly overthrown the system, which makes all the nerves come originally from the brain. 3d. That the cineritious substance is the origin and aliment of the nervous fibres, and that they are reinforced and multiplied by its means. 4th. That they have established the generality of the commissures. This is a point of much consequence in physiology; since it being proved that every nerve has a communication with its corresponding nerve, it explains the unity of sensation, though the external organ, and consequently the external impression, be double. 5th. That their method of dissection is preferable to every other, whether the object be to acquire a perfect knowledge of the structure of the brain, or that of its functions. These are of themselves important points. There are several others, which we pass over, as being now merely anatomical, and not therefore so strictly connected with general views. There are many others, which the authors think demonstrated, but which the commissioners deem to be doubtful; and on some of them we think it most proper to abstain from a decided opinion.

When the authors infer from their anatomical investigations, that there exists a plurality of organs of the intellectual faculties, we think they involve themselves in the same incongruity as those who fix upon the seat of the soul. Thinking,

judging, remembering, are essences perfectly distinct from all modifications of matter, and to give a material habitation or seat to any of the intellectual faculties, is, in our ear, no more than downright jargon. It may be, it is true, that certain organs may undergo changes, corresponding and contemporaneous with the exercise of certain intellectual faculties. In that sense, and in that sense only, can a bodily organ be said to be the seat of an intellectual faculty. But we find nothing in the pages which we have gone over, to throw any light upon this obscure subject.

That M. Gall and his colleague rate very highly the importance of their own discoveries, may be allowed to the natural affection of parents to their offspring. We fear, on the other hand, that no discovery with regard to the structure of the brain will bring us much nearer to a knowledge of its functions. We see little foundation for such a hope, but much to shew that it will probably prove delusive. However, to destroy error, is no small benefit conferred upon science. And if, indeed, their anatomy of the brain should ultimately lead to the consequences which they appear to anticipate, they may console themselves for the coldness with which their doctrines have been received, by considering that they undergo the common fate of all discoverers. The great benefits of nature seem ever to have excited, when first presented, a sort of indignation and animosity against their discoverers. It is persecution which establishes truth; the mind which has therefore to detect it is able to defend and consolidate it. History proves to us that the efforts of sophistry and of malice, directed against a single truth, once brought fairly to light, fall like the dust driven by the winds against a rock.

ART. V.—*Artaxerce, Tragedie en cinq Actes. Par M. Delrieu, &c.*

*Artaxerxes, a Tragedy, in five Acts, by M. Delrieu. Represented for the first Time at Paris, by the ordinary Comedians of his Majesty the Emperor and King, 30th April, 1808, and at St. Cloud, before their Imperial and Royal Majesties, the 18th Aug. in the same Year. 8vo. 1808. Paris. London, Dulau, Soho Square.*

DURING this long interdiction of literary commerce, we have remained in equal ignorance respecting the progress of our neighbours in the liberal and ornamental arts of life, and their internal political institutions. Perhaps the very defi-

scieny of our information on these subjects may have created among some of us opinions injurious to the existing state of literature at Paris; and it may possibly be argued with justice, that had any works of transcendent merit made their appearance, and worthy of the former reputation of France, the imperial restrictions would have been wholly unavailing to prevent their circulation in a foreign country. On the other hand, it is also possible that the notion (we believe pretty generally entertained) of the declining state of letters in that military empire may be erroneous; and, in either supposition, it is a matter of something more than idle curiosity, to arrive at a greater degree of certainty respecting it.

The work now under inspection may enable us in some degree to judge of the present state, at least, of the French theatre; and we all know, that at Paris the theatre may be considered as a pretty fair criterion of taste and genius throughout the nation. The '*Artaxerxes*' of M. Delrieu has, it seems, been honoured with very particular marks both of popular and of imperial favour; and, if we may be allowed to judge from the advertisement, and some of the notes which are subjoined, must rank, if not as the first, at least among the first of the dramatic productions of the *Age of Napoleon*.

'On that day,' says the editor in a note to the words 'and at St. Cloud before their imperial and royal majesties, on the 18th of August'—'on that day, they played together with *Artaxerxes* the comedy of *The Legacy*, in which Mlle. Emilie Levert made her first appearance before their majesties, in the part of the countess: the day was doubly fortunate; the emperor, pleased by the representation of both pieces, granted to the author of *Artaxerxes* a pension of 2,000 francs, and to Mlle. Emilie Levert a gratuity of 3,000 francs.'

We cannot analyze the plot of this tragedy more satisfactorily for the information of our readers, nor with greater justice to the performance itself, than by continuing our extracts from these notes of the editor, so far as they relate to a comparison of the management of the piece with those of Crebillon and Metastasio on the same subject; and so far at least we think that we shall be justified in the opinion, that M. Delrieu has made the most advantage both of the beauties and defects of those who had preceded him.

'The author of the new *Artaxerxes* begins by exciting a warm interest in favour of his two principal personages, Artaban, and his son Arbaces; representing the former as a model of fidelity to his conquered, fugitive, and unhappy sovereign; the other as the avenger of the Persian name, the glory of which, obscured by the shameful defeat of Xerxes in Greece, he redeems by his suc-

cessful exploits among the Parthians. Artaban, who has so long defended the throne against the spirit of faction, and, above all, against the Magian Smerdis, would have remained inviolably attached to Xerxes (whose throne he had restored after his defeat), if that ingrate had not violated the oath he had taken, to grant Arbaces the honour of triumph, and the hand of Mandane, if he should return a conqueror from Parthia. The indignation of a father, severely wounded in the person of an adored son, creates almost an excuse for the crime which he commits through excess of tenderness. This motive, which renders his conspiracy reasonable, and in a manner lawful, has no place in Crebillon,\* in Metastasio, nor in Lemiere, and constitutes the principal charm and chief interest in the present tragedy. In Crebillon, Artaban has no son; he acts only to satisfy his own ambition; his villainy appears atrocious and absurd, heaping crime on crime for himself alone; add to that the sickly lamentations of an Amestris, a Darius, an Artaxerxes, a Barsine, and you will wonder no more that an exhibition at once revolting and ludicrous had only one representation. Lemiere was less unfortunate; but he did no more than spin out into five acts the three of the Italian opera; he even cut off the first scene in which Arbaces and Mandane take leave of each other in Metastasio, and begins by the scene of the assassination. At the rising of the curtain, Artaban is seen to come out of the king's apartment with a bloody sword in his hand. If such be his opening, what does the author reserve for his denouement? M. Delrieu has felt the danger of this abrupt opening, and has inserted the two first acts, which, by preparing the surprize, gradually awaken the interest up to the scene of the bloody sword, which then produces a grand effect, because the fore ground is well laid for it.

It must be admitted, upon the strength of these observations, though somewhat in the spirit of French dramatic criticism, that M. Delrieu's plan is a very great improvement upon those of his predecessors, that all the absurdities of the original fable vanish, and the whole becomes interesting, just, and probable. Some further remarks are made upon the conduct of this amended story, in commenting on different passages of the work, which our readers will think equally reasonable with the foregoing. Xerxes, instead of giving the honours of a triumph to Arbaces, as he had promised, decrees them to his son Artaxerxes.

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\* The *Xerxes* of Crebillon was acted in 1714, and represented only once.

The *Artaxerxes* of Metastasio is well known to English readers, and yet more to English amateurs. The *Artaxerxes* of Lemiere was performed in 1766; but after having had some run at first, was dropped altogether, 'because,' says the editor of Delrieu's tragedy, 'most of the faults which we can forgive in an Italian opera, are exposed and justly condemned in a French play.'

‘The injustice of this order,’ says the editor, ‘the ingratitude of it towards the hero who had given peace to Persia, and avenged his native country, revolt the audience from a weak and vain monarch, whose vices and insignificance are admirably contrasted with the great qualities of his son, who generously renounces in favour of the conqueror the triumph so unjustly decreed to himself. From this double contrast, between the injustice of Xerxes, and the uprightness of the prince, between the ambition of Artaban, and the loyalty of Arbaces, result that force and rapid variation of circumstances, which secure to the new tragedy a constant success on the stage.’

Several other points of comparison follow, in which M. Delrieu is more or less deservedly placed above all his competitors; but one in particular, as to which may be some difference of sentiment, the total omission of all the love scenes, which form so considerable a portion of the Italian opera. Voltaire first shewed his countrymen the possibility of interesting an audience without any appeal to that passion, which had before been considered as a principal and indispensable ingredient in all dramatic compositions; and as the French (and perhaps other people as well as the French) have a propensity to carry all fashions to extreme, it seems now to be considered by their critics as vulgar and low to introduce love into a tragedy at all. This is to the full as ridiculous as to make it the essential ground-work of every drama; and we really can discover no sufficient reason for excluding it from a share in the fable of Artaxerxes, where it adds to the tumult of conflicting passions, and, in our opinion, serves to heighten the interest of the piece.

In making another slight, but important, variation from the Italian opera, M. Delrieu is undoubtedly right; but it does not follow that Metastasio was wrong. It will be remembered that, in the opera, Artaban, coming with the bloody sword out of the chamber of Xerxes, hastily exchanges weapons with his son for the sake of his own safety, and leaves him with the damning proof of guilt in his hand. This would have been unnatural and revolting in such a character as the Artaban of M. Delrieu, who very judiciously avoids the contradiction, by making Arbaces snatch the instrument of murder away from his father. But, in Metastasio, it involves no contradiction at all—on the contrary, it seems extremely natural that the first impulse of a man so depraved as the Italian Artaban would be to save himself at all risks from the immediate punishment of his crime, without reflection on the more distant consequences of it to one whom he loved, and who was innocent of any participation in his villany.

In the sequel, the stage effect is undoubtedly increased to



a very high degree, by the suppression of that scene in *Metastasio* where Artaxerxes descends into the dungeon of his unfortunate friend, in order to set him secretly at liberty. By these means, the audience being perfectly at ease with regard to his fate, the last act moves languidly on to the denouement. M. Delrieu, on the contrary, leaves his audience to suppose, in common with all the dramatis personæ, except only Artaxerxes himself, that the prisoner has either already suffered the punishment decreed against him, or that he is still in his dungeon awaiting the execution of his sentence; and thus the uncertainty as to his ultimate fate keeps the interest suspended to the end, and his sudden entrance on the stage produces one of the finest effects of surprise and joy upon the minds of the spectators.

The incident of the poisoned bowl is then worked up to the greatest dramatic advantage.

‘What a combination of interests,’ cries the enraptured critic, ‘does this bowl at one moment present to us! Who has poisoned it? the father—For whom? for the king—Who holds it in his hand? the son—Before whom? before his friend, who hopes by its means to save him; and before his father who hoped by its means to avenge him—Which of the three will drink the poison?—This is what every spectator inquires of himself; it is this anxious doubt which makes the irresistible charm of the situation, which brings down universal applause, at the moment when Artaban, overwhelmed by the sense of his son’s danger, rushes upon the cup, tears it from his hands, and swallows in an instant the whole of its deadly contents. Some fastidious critics have pretended to discover in this situation an imitation of the denouement of *Rodogune*. The falsity of this criticism will sufficiently appear from the slightest examination of the respective pieces. In *Rodogune*, who has prepared the poison? Cleopatra—For whom? for her son—Why does Cleopatra drink it? to deceive her son and perish with him.—It surely requires but little penetration to discern that the motives and circumstances of the scene in *Artaxerxes* are diametrically opposite to this. Artaban has drugged the bowl only to avenge his son, and swallows it only to save him. I say nothing of the motive of Artaxerxes, who presents the cup to Arbaces, with no other view than to afford him the means of his justification. It is plain then that in this catastrophe, M. Delrieu has borrowed nothing, that he owes its invention solely to the resources of his own genius, which is infinitely honoured by it.’

It will be evident from these criticisms, that the principal effect of the drama depends on contrast; and it will be enough to give a general idea of the spirit in which this design is executed, if we extract a single scene in which the

force of contrast is particularly striking. Our example shall be taken from that in which Artaban meets his son with the bloody sword, after the murder of Xerxes. The reader should understand, that, unlike the Italian drama, the plot of Artaban is here made to comprehend the death of Artaxerxes, as well as of his father; which is an improvement in point of probability, since it seems impossible to conjecture what purpose of ambition could have been answered by the sacrifice of the reigning monarch alone, if his son were left to succeed him. Megabysus is the name of the officer engaged in the conspiracy with Artaban, and to whom is assigned the execution of the prince's murder.

' ARTABAN, *sortant de l'appartement du roi, et cachant une épée sous son manteau.*

(*Egaré*) Est-ce toi Mégabyse?—Mon fils!  
(*regardant Arbace.*)

ARBACE.

Mon père!

ARTABAN.

De ton roi ne crains plus la colère.

ARBACE.

Dieux! quel égarement! quel désordre!—mon père,  
D'où nait le trouble affreux où je vous vois plongé?  
Qu'avez vous fait? Parlez! parlez!

ARTABAN.

Je t'ai vengé,

ARBACE.

Vengé?

ARTABAN.

Jé le devais—Regarde cette épée!—  
(*Il decouvre l'épée sanglante et la lui montre.*)

ARBACE, *la saisissant.*

Ciel!

ARTABAN.

La reconnais-tu?

ARBACE.

De sang elle est trempée!

ARTABAN.

Je le sais.

ARBACE.

De quel sang? il me glace d'effro!

ARTABAN.

C'est celui de Xerxès.

ARBACE, *avec feu.*

Qui l'a repandu?

ARTABAN.

Moi !—

Voilà de ta grandeur le garant infallible.

ARBACE, *contemplant l'épée avec horreur.*

De votre amour pour moi voilà le gage horrible !

*(On entend du bruit au fond, à droite.)*ARTABAN,  *voulant la reprendre.*

Ou vient !—donne !—

ARBACE, *égaré et en sortant.*

Ah ! cachons ce glaive à tous les yeux !

Mon roi !—mon père !—Ou fuir ? guidez mes pas, grands dieux !

*(Arbace emporte l'épée sanglante et sort par le fond à gauche.)*

This short scene is enough to prove the extreme attention paid by the Parisian dramatists to stage effect. Indeed, the whole of what we have quoted is nothing more ; and the same observation will extend to every other part of the tragedy. Throughout the whole of it, we have been able to discover very little if any writing that will bear a moment's comparison with the poetry of Racine or of Voltaire. But what is wanting in this respect is perhaps abundantly made up for in the representation by what we may venture to term the poetry of action. An English reader will, nevertheless, smile to observe the extreme importance attached to the most simple and apparently unimportant manœuvres. The stage-directions are every where full and explicit to a degree, far beyond even the finical arrangements of a German drama. Not an actor, but is in every scene directed at what door he is to enter, and at what to depart, nay, even how he is to regulate every motion of his body, and every change of his features. This should seem to imply an uncommon degree of ignorance, even in the first principles of their art, among the performers of the French stage. Yet the criticisms from which we have made already such large selections, are almost as abundant in the praises of these gentlemen and ladies as in those of the author himself. Perhaps it will amuse some of our readers to know as much of the Parisian theatre as these observations will enable him to collect.

The first representative of Mandane, we are told, was Mlle. Georges, who played it four times, and then resigned it to Mlle. Bourgoin. The cause of this resignation is obscurely hinted at in the note which mentions it. The poor deluded Autocrat of all the Russias, and his imperial bawd, are both, we have no doubt, able to explain it much more clearly.

On the resignation of the triumphal honours by Artaxerxes in favour of Arbaces, in opposition to the imperial mandate, the words

' Je lui désobéis; l'honneur m'en fait la loi,  
Une gloire usurpée est indigne de moi.'

produce the following remark :

The reiterated plaudits which this recital always ensures, bear equal testimony to the happy invention to the two first acts, and to the distinguished powers of M. Lafond, who, by the manner at once simple and majestic, natural and brilliant, with which he performs not only this scene, but the whole part of Artaxerxes, has advanced a giant's pace in his reputation.

M. St. Prix, the representative of Artaban, obtains at least an equal share of applause. ' Il a, en général, parfaitement saisi toutes les nuances de ce grand caractère : sa pantomime est effrayante de vérité.'

' It is impossible to give too much praise,' says another note, ' to M. Damas, who in the part of Arbaces, the most interesting of the drama, has displayed so much warmth, sensibility, and energy;' (we hardly know how to render *abandon*.) ' He has particularly excelled in the scene where loyalty and rebellion, virtue and vice, dispute for the victory, where Arbaces has at once to struggle against the fury of an ambitious statesman, the seductions of a conspirator, and the authority of a father.'

St. Prix is, however, the hero of the stage.

' We think that this actor, so true, so astonishing in the creation of his characters (for instance, Cain, in *La Mort d'Abel*; and Cimber, in *Marius à Minturne*), has even surpassed himself in the composition and execution of this very difficult part, *personnage d'une si grande tenue*, always on the stage, always in terrible and even opposite situations, forced to affect tranquillity, and to hide under a calm exterior the passions which devour his soul. Thus has he made of it one of the finest parts that is represented on the boards of our theatre.'

It would be a new thing in this country for an author to print his successful play with a series of criticisms at the end. But in France there are very respectable authorities for the practice. Besides, the editor assures us, that the notes he has subjoined, and from which we have made such ample extracts, are but a collection of the opinions which he had heard in public.

ART. VI.—*Ansichten der Natur mit wissenschaftlichen Erläuterungen, &c.*

*Views of Nature, with scientific Investigations, by Count Humboldt. 1 Vol. 8vo. Tübingen, 1808. London, Escher.*

THE volume now presented to the public, by this indefatigable naturalist, contains three valuable memoirs, all of them conspicuous for the variety and extent of information brought together into the compass of one volume. The first of these productions is entitled, *General Ideas on the Physiognomy of Plants*; the second contains a learned description of the fall of the great river Orinoco, near Atura and Maypura. But far the most valuable part of the volume is a geological paper having the general title of a memoir, on mountains and deserts, and which we consider as likely to excite the greatest interest among our scientific readers.

The travels of M. Humboldt through the immense continent of South America furnished him with the materials on which he rears his present memoir, but the novelty and importance of the subjects urged him to separate it from his larger works now in course of publication, and give it publicity in its present form. The following sketch of the contents will enable our readers to appreciate its importance.

From the foot of the rugged granite mountains, which in the infancy of the globe, and at the era of the formation of the gulph of the Antilles, seem to have resisted the efforts of the ocean, extends an immense plain. The vallies of Caracas, the lake of Tacarigua, interspersed with numerous islands, and plains covered with sugar canes and cocoa trees, form its northern boundary. On lifting the eye from these luxuriant countries nothing is seen but vast deserts which seem to meet the horizon, and are almost lost in the clouds. From the most enchanting rural scenery imaginable, the traveller suddenly finds himself transported into parched and burning regions. No eminence, no resting point appears in this immense ocean of sterility; scarcely even a few downs the elevation of which is barely discernible. The inhabitants designate by the name of banks these trifling eminences, and in M. Humboldt's opinion, by this epithet they give an idea of the primitive arrangement of the globe, when these eminences formed shoals, while the surrounding country served as a bed to the sea. Our author then proceeds to inform us that



‘Similar objects occur in every country of the world; their appearance is modified, however, according to the difference of soil, climate, and their elevation above the level of the sea.

‘The heath-covered plains of the north of Europe, extending from the extremity of Jutland to the mouth of the Scheldt, may be considered as real deserts; their extent, however, is small compared with those of Llanos and Pampas, in South America, or even the immense meadows on the banks of the Missouri.

‘The plains in the centre of Africa afford a spectacle still more imposing. They consist of immense sands, containing detached strips of cultivated ground. In the Oasis of Siwah, shaded by abundance of date-trees, the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, nearly covered by the sands which surround them, exhibit to the eyes of the traveller the cradle of the civilization of mankind. Neither rain nor dew ever visit these arid districts, and no traces of vegetation appear. Columns of hot air rising around disperse the vapours, and prevent all formation of rainy clouds.

‘In those parts of the desert bordering on the Atlantic Ocean abundance of exhalations from the sea fill up the vacuities produced in the atmosphere, by the winds, which rise perpendicularly from the interior of the country: breezes from the westward refresh the hillocks which bound the desert; and when navigators approach the mouth of the Gambia through a sea covered with marine plants, they suddenly perceive that the place where the tropical east wind quits them is adjacent to sandy plains, which reflect on all sides their burning temperature.

‘The plains in the interior of Africa occupy a surface nearly thrice as extensive as the Mediterranean sea. They are situated partly under the tropic, and partly under the adjacent latitudes, a position which determines their character. The central parts of Asia present a similar phenomenon, but under the temperate zone. Between the chains of the Altai and Mustag mountains, from the great wall to the sea of Aral, we find, in an extent of 1000 miles, the most extensive deserts of our globe. Some parts exhibit perpetual meadows, and others the succulent and ever-green plants. In other places glittering salts cover the earth under a thousand different forms, resembling at a distance a country covered with snow.’

After indulging in some philosophical reveries, excited by a cursory survey of the history of the ancient world, M. Humboldt turns to South America.

‘The interest,’ he says, ‘which this country excites, belongs entirely to nature. Nothing exists here to bring to our recollection the ancient dwellings of the human race. No temple of Jupiter, and no stone wrought by human hands, is here to be seen. This portion of the globe does not strike our minds with

the remembrance of the past, but by the spectacle of the present: it is a country given up without reserve to the possession of plants and animals.

To return to his description of South America.

‘ From the mountains of the Caraccas, the desert extends into the forests of Guiana, and from the mountains of Merida, where we see sulphurous springs issuing from beds of perpetual snow, the same desert stretches to the immense Delta, formed by the mouths of the Oronooko. To the south-west these plains extend in the form of an arm of the sea, beyond the shores of the Meta and of the Vichada, to the almost unknown sources of the Guaviara, or to the isolated peak called by the Spaniards *Paraino de la summa Paz*, the residence of eternal peace.

‘ This plain occupies a surface of 14,000 square miles. The scanty geographical knowledge hitherto in our possession respecting these countries encouraged an idea that it is continued to the Straits of Magellan, but no regard has been paid to the chain which extends to the east of the Andes, and which separates, to the northward and southward, the woody plains of the river of Amazons, and the meadows of Rio de la Plata. The latter, which form the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, are there the extent of the Llanos; on the north they are bounded by forests of palm trees, while the southern parts are constantly covered with ice and snow.’

Like the great Zaara or African desert, the Llanos, i. e. the plains to the northward of South America, are situated under the torrid zone. At different seasons of the year, however, they present the appearance of verdure.

M. Humboldt proceeds to observe, that upon the soil of the new world, cold and humidity are predominant, to which the burning deserts of Africa form a striking contrast; he attempts to account for these contradictory phenomena by referring them to the physical formation of the different continents. He admits, that from the form and direction of its coasts, South America has a complete resemblance with the south-west peninsula of the ancient continent. But it is in the internal structure of the soil and the relative situation of the surrounding countries, that we must seek for the causes of the uncommon sterility of Africa. According to our author's theory, four-fifths of South America are situated beyond the equator, i. e. in a hemisphere which, from the great abundance of lakes and rivers, is necessarily colder and more humid than the northern hemisphere, to which the greater part of Africa belongs.

The deserts of South America, the Llanos, taken from east to west, are far less extensive than those of Africa. The former are exposed to the breezes of the tropics; the latter,

situated in the latitude of Arabia and the south of Persia, are visited by strata of burning air, proceeding from the hottest countries of the globe. The almost total want of great rivers, lakes, and high mountains, may be adduced as another cause of the sterility of Africa. But, according to our author, all these causes would have been insufficient to change these immense plains into sandy deserts, if by a catastrophe, the era and nature of which are unknown, the ocean had not made an irruption on this soil, and covered the once productive fields with sand. M. Humboldt conjectures, that it is from the effects of this phenomenon that the heated water of Mexico is carried towards the banks of Newfoundland, and the cocoa nuts of the West Indies are thrown upon the shores of Iceland and Norway. It is at least certain, that one branch of this rapid current is still directed from the Azores to the south-east, and dashes with impetuosity against the western shores of the north of Africa.

After hazarding some philosophical conjectures respecting the quarter from which the population of the world originated, M. Humboldt notices a singular tribe of South Americans inhabiting the banks of the Oronooko, near its mouth, and who live in cabins suspended to the branches of the tree called *mauritia*. The existence of this tribe depends entirely upon the production of the *mauritia*. During the inundation of the Delta, they suspend ingeniously between the branches of the trees kinds of hammocks woven with the leaves, and sewed together with thread made from the same tree.

These aerial cottages are mostly covered with clay. The women descend for the sake of kindling fires for cooking. But the above is not the only useful purpose to which the *mauritia* is applied; it yields a kind of farina or sago, with which the Indians make bread, and from the sap of the tree they prepare a fermented liquor. The fruit resembles a pine-apple.

Immense herds of horned cattle, horses, and wild asses, pasture in the South American plains. The prodigious increase of these animals is the more astonishing, as they have to contend against difficulties peculiar to the soil which they inhabit.

When the rays of the sun dart perpendicularly on the earth, the grass is burnt up, the soil becomes hard, and exhibits such enormous fissures, that they seem to have been produced by an earthquake. If currents of air happen to blow from opposite directions, a singular appearance presents itself, the sand rises in dense clouds in the form of huge cylinders or funnels, similar to the water-spouts observed at sea. The ground enveloped in burning sand, renders the heat more

suffocating, and the east winds carrying with them the heated vapours of the soil, overwhelm the exhausted traveller. The crocodiles and serpents, exhausted by heat, bury themselves in the dry mud, and resemble the animals of the northern countries when benumbed with cold. Enveloped in clouds of dust, and oppressed with hunger and thirst, the horned cattle scatter themselves over the desert, and raise their parched mouths against the stream of air, to catch the humid particles it contains, and thus by instinct try to discover some adjacent rivulet. The wild asses endeavour to quench their thirst in a more ingenious manner. The taper melon contains under its prickly rind a succulent substance. The animal breaks off with his hoof the thorns from the plant, and applies his lips to the rind to suck up the water: this operation, however, is attended with danger, for the animals frequently swallow the points, and are strangled. The effects of the rainy season in South America are next described with considerable minuteness.

Frequently on the edge of a morass, the mud is so much swelled by the rains, as to rise gradually into hillocks, which suddenly burst with a loud noise, as if blown up by gunpowder. The inhabitants, to whom this phenomenon is familiar, hastily get out of the way, for from these new craters an enormous water-serpent or crocodile is seen to issue, which has been roused from its lethargy by the first rains.

The rivers which skirt the southern boundary gradually swell, and the same animals which had been formerly the victims of the most dreadful thirst, are for a season compelled to live like amphibious creatures. A considerable portion of the desert now resembles an immense lake. The female animals retire with their young to the high grounds, which appear like so many islands. Every day their limits become narrower. The want of food compels them to swim for whole hours in search of the aquatic *poa*, which raises its flowers above the surface of the water. A prodigious number of young animals perish under this deluge. Others become the prey of crocodiles, and frequently horses and bulls are seen wandering about, bearing the marks of the teeth of this ferocious animal.

The account given by M. Humboldt of the *gymnotus electricus*, or electrical eels of South America, has been frequently before the public. The cursory sketch of the subject given in the present memoir, we are aware, may not have any claims to novelty; it may, however, amuse a numerous portion of readers, to repeat the leading facts as re-stated by M. Humboldt.

'The immense marshes of Bera and Rastro are peopled with electrical eels, which communicate from every part of their bodies dreadful concussions, and attack their enemies with weapons which they cannot resist; these eels are five or six feet long. They are capable of killing the largest and most vigorous animal, if their blow be properly directed. Immense numbers of dead horses are annually found on the banks of the Uritucu, a river in which the electric fish abound. The human beings who inhabit the adjacent country shun the approach of the gymnoti with terror. They are even formidable to the fishermen if they throw their lines into the water when impregnated with moisture.

'The fishery for these animals is a very curious spectacle. Horses and mules are driven into the marsh by the Indians. The gymnoti are seen to rise to the surface, and attack the frightened quadrupeds under the belly, several of which perish from the invisible blows of their formidable enemy: if they chance to escape from the combat, they are instantly driven back by their savage masters, who are armed with bamboos for the purpose. The fury of the combatants after some time abates. The exhausted gymnoti disperse like clouds, after a violent storm. They stand in need of a long rest and abundance of food to enable them to repair the loss of the galvanic fluid. Their blows become harmless, and the returning courage of the horses inspires them with sudden terror: in their turn they fly to the shore, where the Indians attack them with harpoons, and draw them on shore by means of pieces of dried wood, which are non-conductors of electricity.'

The comparative account of the population of the two great continents of Africa and America is drawn up in an elegant manner, and does honour to M. Humboldt's talents for composition, as well as to his sound discrimination. The following short extract exhibits him to considerable advantage:

'The deserts of the north of Africa have separated, from time immemorial, two kinds of population, which formerly inhabited the same portion of the globe. Their emigration and separation are lost in the mazes of antiquity, like the fables of Osiris and Typhon. To the northward of Mount Atlas we find a race of people with long sleek yellow hair, whose features resemble those of Mount Caucasus. To the southward of the Senegal, in the direction of Soudan, we find negroes who exhibit traces of civilization. The deserts of Mongolia, in the centre of Africa, separate Siberian Barbary from the peninsula of India, the ancient seat of civilization.

'Countries already half cultivated by Europeans bound the vast plains of South America. The countries which extend northward, between the chain of the Venezuela mountains and



the West India islands, are covered with flourishing towns and well cultivated farms.

‘ The immense desert is bounded on the south by impenetrable forests of timber, which occupy the damp regions between the rivers Oronookó and Amazon. Enormous rocks of granite confine the beds of their foamy waves. The mountains and forests echo back the noise of their waterfalls, and the almost incessant cries of animals prognosticate approaching storms.

‘ On the sandy banks of the river is to be seen the monstrous crocodile basking in the sun, with extended jaws, and his huge body covered with flocks of birds.

‘ With his tail twisted round the stump of a tree, the tiger-serpent watches his prey, and often suddenly arrests in its progress the swift deer, or haughty young bull, and forces them into his voracious jaws.

‘ Various are the races of mankind which inhabit these savage countries : they are distinguished by the variety of their language. Of these the Otomacs and the Jarures feed upon ants, gum, and even earth. Others, more intelligent and of milder manners, live on the fruits of the earth which they cultivate. Immense regions are inhabited only by monkeys, who live in a kind of society. Images, however, carved on the rocks, announce the existence of mankind in these countries at some remote period. These relics contain the secret of the mutable destinies of men, and prove that the modifications of language are invariably the most indelible monuments of their first origin.

‘ The savage tribes of Guiana wage eternal war with each other ; they drink the blood of their enemies with delight. An Indian who appears unarmed and defenceless, has his nails poisoned, to inflict a mortal wound when least suspected.’

The following philosophical, but somewhat misanthropic reflection, excited by the history of these savages, forms the concluding passage of M. Humboldt's valuable memoir :

‘ Thus, in the state of nature as well as of civilization, man is always fertile in resources for creating evils to himself ; and on traversing the whole surface of the globe, the traveller continually views the afflicting spectacle of man armed against his fellow, a spectacle which is also exhibited in every page of history.’

We flatter ourselves that we have now put our readers in possession of sufficient materials to enable them to form a competent estimate of the immense advantages which will accrue to every department of science, by the publication of the whole of Count Humboldt's valuable acquisitions. We regret to add, that the state of the continent has greatly retarded this desirable event.

ART. VH.—*De Calorique rayonnant.* XI  
*On radiating Caloric, by M. Prevost.* 1 vol. 8vo.  
 Geneva, 1809.

THE opinions of M. Prevost, on the subject of caloric, are already well known in this country, through the medium of the scientific journals. In the present volume he has collected all that had previously occurred to him on his favourite topic, and given copious extracts from the work of our countryman Leslie, as illustrative of his theory.

The work sets out with explaining the theory of radiating caloric, which he endeavours to apply to a great number of the phenomena connected with heat, and after informing his readers that M. Haüy has given the sanction of his name to the theory in question, by adopting it, in the second edition of his *Traité élémentaire de Physique*, M. Prevost modestly lays claim to public favour by avowing the insufficiency of his own powers to manage the subject with the skill it deserves. He merely regards his work in the light of a first effort towards clearing the way for future valuable discovery, and invites the calm and dispassionate discussion of his contemporary philosophers, on the data with which he has furnished them; the present, in his opinion, being the most auspicious period, in the history of science, for the fair elucidation of every branch of knowledge.

ART. VIII.—*Œuvres complètes de Boileau.*  
*The whole Works of Boileau. Stereotype Edition.* 3 vols.  
 8vo. Paris, 1809.

WE notice the above volumes partly to call the attention of our readers to a beautiful specimen of modern typography, and partly because they afford the only complete collection of Boileau's works ever published.

The admirers of this celebrated author will here meet with every scrap that could be procured of his writings, the authenticity of which was at all ascertained. Great pains have been taken in the selection of materials for the notes, which greatly enhance the value of the work as a literary record. These notes are of five different kinds. 1, The original notes of the author himself, distinguished by the letters *Borr*.—2, *variorum*.—3, imitations.—4, historical elucidations.—5, critical observations.

The principal occurrences in the life of the author are given at the beginning of the work, and the narrative is well written. The *Redacteur* is anonymous.

ART. IX.—*Le Spectre de la Montagne de Grenade, &c.*

*The Spectre of the Mountain of Granada. By Mademoiselle de C——. Paris, chez Collin. 2 vols. 8vo. 1809.*

THIS is a very harmless ghost, although it is introduced to the acquaintance of the reader under all the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance' which generally swell the pages of our modern romances.

The drama opens with appropriate scenery: Ferdinand and Count d'Osma are seated on a rock, contemplating a thunder storm. 'Behold a shadow,' says Ferdinand; 'it advances like one of the ghosts of Ossian, wrapped in a thin veil. Is it thou, O Malvina, who descendest from the palace of Odin, to condole with thy father?' This Malvina with her thin veil is no other than an eccentric female, who becomes the heroine of the piece.

Miss Owenson's Ida of Athens and the Corinna of Madame Stael have contributed largely to enable Mademoiselle C—— to season the present ragout with oriental spice. In humble imitation of the turgid verbosity of the former, we find the sun called 'the king of stars,' the moon is of course 'the torch of night,' the rainbow, 'the disk of reconciliation,' and calling in a physician is said to be 'sending for the aid of the god of Epidaurus.'

Irlanda, the heroine of the Spectre of Granada, is matched against Corinna. Like her, Irlanda is a girl of genius: she makes verses, composes music, writes novels—in short, knows every thing but how to hold her needle: she has black hair, arched eyebrows, a decided and vigorous mind, and of course an imposing and dignified appearance: she has one advantage over Corinna, however, namely, that of taking the events of life as she finds them, without exhibiting the least discomposure. Irlanda had lost a lover early in life, and then a husband; a false Strephon next vanishes from her widowed arms, after naming the marriage day, and her philosophy is once more called into action: her first and earliest lover makes his appearance once more, and as he is on his way to be married, is assassinated by a rival. One half of these misfortunes would have killed a dozen Corinnas, but Irlanda views them all with the nonchalance of a female who has drunk deeply of the cup of modern stoicism, vulgarly ycleped philosophy. We are told with a hacknied affectation of sentiment, that our heroine had passed 'her infancy in search of happiness, her youth in quest of it, and her prime of life in calling on it in vain.'

Like Corinna, Irlanda has a sister by a second marriage. Almorinda (for this is her name) is gentle and unassuming, and, like Miss Lucy, is also scantily supplied with genius and knowledge. Almorinda, however, can sew, embroider, and make caps for her sister, and, as a matter of course, has a most charming person, which is the more beautiful, says the fair author, 'because the sun of ambition had not as yet absorbed her odoriferous soul!!!' We leave it to the readers of novels and romances to tell us what this means.

Ferdinand, who is described as hating poetry, '*cet art imposteur*,' as he tells his friend Count d'Osma, is nevertheless desperately in love, and with that cold foresight, which no doubt accompanies an hostility to the muses, prudently endeavours to secure two strings to his bow. The wit and genius of Irlanda have enslaved him, while the 'unabsorbed odoriferous soul' of her sister Almorinda has excited certain amorous propensities, which Almorinda is under the necessity of repelling. An oath which she had taken, at an early period of life, is most scrupulously, and we think rather unfashionably kept, and Almorinda takes the veil, leaving Ferdinand to grope his way to the temple of Hymen with Irlanda.

All the heroes and heroines, with the exception of poor Almorinda, are described as children of genius, and all of them in their turns have been plunged into its vagaries. Even old Jerome, the confessor to the mountain of Granada, is a man of genius, and has consequently floundered through life as men of talent generally do: in his youth he was on the eve of marriage with an heiress, but was suddenly banished her presence for cracking irreligious jokes on her grandmama. The display of his wit, in short, ended in his expulsion from his native country: at Venice, where he takes up his residence, he pays his addresses to a married woman, who is poisoned by a disappointed rival. Jerome gallantly stabs the female assassin and throws himself into the sea, with a view to add suicide to murder, but is somehow or other restored to life, becomes a saint, and finally directs the consciences of a numerous flock of devotees in the mountains of Granada.

The work abounds with sketches of character—with what adherence to nature they are drawn, we leave to our readers to judge from the specimen we have given. Plot or counterplot it has none. It has an imposing title, however, and will no doubt find its way into the hands of the *élèves* of sentimentality of both sexes. Its absurdities will, probably, strongly recommend it to the caterers for the circulating libraries on our side of the Channel; but we recommend it to those whose lot it is to transfuse the 'odoriferous soul' of this mountain

spectre into an English dress, to apply the tomahawk and not the scalpel. The loves of Ferdinand and Almorinda may be told in quilted prose if the translator pleases, but let us not hear of the 'tender shoots of religion' being 'nipped by the scissors of philosophy, and the stumps exposed defenceless to the scorching heat of headstrong passion!' This would be splitting the ears of the groundlings with a vengeance!

ART. X.—*La Mort d'Abel; Poeme en Imitation de Gesner, &c.*

*The Death of Abel; a Poem in Imitation of Gesner, by an Officer of Artillery. Paris. Le Normant. 8vo. 1809.*

THE circumstances under which this poem was written give it a claim to merciful treatment in the court of criticism. The author contrived to steal the leisure moments which he devoted to the muse, from the arduous duties imposed on him during the recent campaign in Poland—that he has chosen a subject from the sacred text, does equal honour to his principles and taste; and we rejoice that in these degenerate days a French officer of artillery is not ashamed to avow that he carried a Bible in his *sabre tasche*.

Although a free use has been confessedly made of the materials furnished by Gesner, the poem before us is strictly an imitation, not a translation, and there are passages in which we consider the anonymous poet as successfully rivalling the beautiful simplicity of language and description which is the pervading charm of his model.

Cain, after witnessing the last expiration of his murdered brother, precipitately leaves the scene of action.

'Heurlant, tordant les bras, vomissant des remords!'

Adam, Eve, Thirsa, and the children of Cain assemble around the dead body, and the artless lamentations of the latter for the loss of their relative are thus portrayed:

'— La tombe s'entr'ouvrait sous les efforts d'Adam;  
La mere & l'autre sœur regardoient en pleurant.  
Eliel, Josias, tous deux dans leur enfance,  
Accourus par la main trouboient seuls le silence:  
De Cain ils sont fils: "Vois, disoit Eliel,  
Regarde, Josias; ah! c'est le bon Abel!  
Comme sa tête est là, toute pâle & sanglante!  
Et Thirsa sur son corps, comme elle se lamente!  
Il ne voit plus! ses yeux sont je ne sais comment!  
Ah! Josias, j'ai peur! allons trouver maman!"



Vers la mere aussi-tôt chacun d'eux se dérobe,  
 Et puis enveloppés dans les plis de sa robe :  
 " Maman, pourquoi ca donc que tu pleures aussi ?  
 Pourquoi que grand papa creuse la terre ici ?  
 Comme le jeune agneau, là-bas Abel demeure !  
 Devoit-il sur l'autel être offert toute à l'heure ?  
 —Enfans, dit Méhala, les embrassant tous deux,  
 La mort emporte Abel ; son ame est dans les cieux ;  
 Elle va pour toujours y demeurer heureuse,  
 Et son corps va descendre au tombeau qu' Adam creuse.  
 —Quoi ! répond Eliel qui se pend à ses bras,  
 Chere maman, Abel ne s'éveillera pas !  
 Lui qui nous apprenoit chaque jour un cantique !  
 Déjà, tout gros de pleurs, sa tendresse s'explique.  
 Ah ! disoit Josias ; tous deux sur ses genoux,  
 L'un en face de l'autre, il chantoit devant nous !  
 Il redisoit le ciel, le Seigneur, sa louange,  
 La pomme, le péché, le bon, le mauvais ange !  
 Ah ! comme à son retour, va soupirer papa !"  
 Tels ils parloient, pleurant au sein de Méhala.'

The following specimen of the descriptive powers of the author, on a more pleasing occasion, has its merits; there is something faulty, however, in the concluding couplet—the zephyrs may legitimately be allowed to frolic around the happy pair, but the most extravagant indulgence that poets ever claimed never went beyond the introduction of a few sunbeams to add luxuriance to a sublunary scene: the majestic orb itself was never seen to smile (at least in our recollection) out of the regions of pagan mythology.

‘ Déjà l'aube, agitant une aile gracieuse,  
 Dispensoit la rosée à la terre amoureuse ;  
 Déjà, dans l'Est en feu, la couriere du jour,  
 Du roi de la nature annonçoit le retour :

\* \* \* \* \*

Quand Abel, conduisant sa Thirsa par la main,  
 A travers des bosquets de rose & de jasmin,  
 Dont la suave odeur embaume la campagne,  
 Au-devant du soleil amenoit sa compagne ;  
 L'astre, en lui souriant, caressoit son contour,  
 Les zéphyrs éveillés folâtroient à l'entour.'

We have no doubt that the admirers of French poetry will rise from the perusal of the Mort d'Abel with favourable impressions.

ART. XI.—*Œuvres de M. Turgot, &c.*

*The Works of M. Turgot, preceded and accompanied by Memoirs and other Documents respecting his Life, Administration, and Works. 9 vols. 8vo. Paris. Firmin Didot, 1809.*

ALTHOUGH the above title announces nine volumes as already published, six only have actually been put to press, the remaining volumes being still in the hands of the French editors: they are said to contain the posthumous and minor productions of the author. The estimation in which the name of Turgot is universally held makes us hasten to take up the work in its present shape, without waiting for the conclusion. We consider ourselves as pledged, however, to resume our analysis in a future Appendix, when the three subsequent volumes arrive in this country.

The present editors have judiciously divided the works of this great man into three parts:

1st. The fragments of his literary performances when an ecclesiastic, and his philosophical researches.

2d. His writings during the period of his intendantship.

3d. His publications during his ministry.

In our present notice we shall follow this arrangement, as being the most convenient and at the same time as enabling us to exhibit a sketch of the literary life of Turgot.

At the early age of 23, when an ecclesiastic, he pronounced before the doctors of the Sorbonne two discourses, one on the establishment of christianity, and the other on the progressive improvement of the human mind. Both of them bear marks of excellence, which it rarely falls to the lot of mankind to exhibit at so early a period of life; they display an extent of acquirement and a depth of reflection, which are understood to be the results of a personal intercourse with mankind alone, and which we cannot account for in the present instance, without acknowledging that there are individuals on whom great and splendid talents are conferred as if by inspiration.

We recollect no author who has so happily caught the true spirit of the petty governments of Greece as M. Turgot has in his first discourse: 'their patriotism did not so much consist in a regard for their fellow-citizens, as in a common hatred of foreigners.' A little further on he tells us, that 'almost all legislators have neglected to open a door for the corrections which all human institutions require, and there remains no other remedy for abuses, than the resource, more dreadful than the abuses themselves, namely, a total revolution.'

In the same prophetic spirit he commences his second discourse, by assuring the antiquated theologians of the Sorbonne, that

'Astronomy, navigation, and geography mutually assist each other. The shores of Greece and Asia Minor were peopled with Phenician colonies. COLONIES resemble fruits, which only adhere to the parent tree, until they arrive at maturity. When they want no more assistance, they act as Carthage did, and as America will one day also !'

His extensive and profound acquaintance with political geography is conspicuously displayed in several memoirs in the same volume, under the titles of 'L'Esquisse d'une Geographie politique,' 'Plan d'Histoire universelle,' and 'Discours sur les Progres et les diverses Epoques de la Decadence des Sciences et des Arts.'

But his mind was not confined to the drudgery of political disquisitions; the higher walks of science occasionally occupied his earlier years. Buffon had broached his celebrated theory of a comet having fallen into the sun, and supposing it to have carried off a piece of the latter, it became, when gradually cooled, the present terrestrial globe. Turgot was then scarcely twenty-one years of age, but with a boldness peculiar to the strength of his genius, he wrote to Buffon in the following manner :

'I ask, in the first place, wherefore do you undertake to explain such phenomena? Is it your wish to take from the philosophy of Newton that simplicity and wise circumspection which characterise it? Do you intend, by plunging us into the night of hypotheses, to justify the Cartesians in their ideas of the three elements, and the formation of the world?'

He then proceeds to combat the objections of the great naturalist in a train of philosophical arguments and mathematical calculations.

The first lance which Turgot broke in metaphysics was against Maupertuis; he attacked with great keenness the 'Reflexions philosophiques sur l'Origine des Langues et la Signification des Mots,' and in the opinion of a great majority of critics, Turgot came off victorious. The celebrated doctrines of Berkeley were also assailed by him with no small degree of force and penetration.

In the article *Etymologie*, which he defines to be a conjectural art, he teaches the method by which alone we ought to proceed in ascertaining the precise origin of words, on which to found legitimate conjectures, and how they may be verified.

But we now come to the most important period in the life

of our author. At the age of 26 he published his celebrated Letters on Toleration: his chief aim on this occasion was to convince the world, that, of all the methods ever resorted to for the extinction of religious quarrels, persecution is the worst.

The bent of his mind naturally led him to subjects connected with political economy, and under this head we find the following papers in the present collection of his works.

A letter to M. de Cicé, in answer to three letters of the Abbe Terrason on paper money, and in which M. Turgot endeavours to shew, that all credit which is not supported on real and positive value, or on a certain reimbursement, is illusory, and soon becomes mischievous to a country.

A memoir on property and on money, in which he examines what constitutes property, in what manner the latter is at once guaranteed and represented by money, and what is the mean term of comparison of the value of money.

An eulogium pronounced by Turgot on M. de Gournay, an eminent merchant of St. Maloes, gives the philosopher an opportunity of exhibiting an enlightened view of the notions peculiar to himself and to his friend on the subject of the mercantile code. We learn that M. de Gournay's usual expression on the subject of commerce was *Laissez faire, laissez passer*.

An article on fairs, originally published in the French Encyclopedie, is given in this department of M. Turgot's labours. He regards the privileges which have been conferred of holding fairs, as so many proofs of the fetters which have arrested the progress of industry and commerce, and he ends with assuring his readers that great fairs can never compensate by any utility that can be derived from them, for the oppression which they in other respects impose on regular traders.

But the most important of all his works on political economy, particularly from the importance of the theory divulged in it, is a treatise on the acquisition and distribution of riches. This was composed nine years before the publication of the Wealth of Nations of Dr. Adam Smith, who, it is well known, had frequently discussed the same topics with Turgot and Quesnay. It has been objected against the doctrines advanced in M. Turgot's lucubrations on national wealth, that he has been rather too ardent in his admiration of the once favourite dogma of the economists, that the net produce of a country alone constitutes its riches: we believe that M. Turgot lived long enough to be convinced of his error in this respect, as some of his subsequent productions evidently prove.

M. Turgot was nominated intendant of Limoges in 1761,

and volumes 4, 5, and 6 of his works contain what the editors have been able to collect of his literary labours during the period of his holding that situation. They are doubly interesting when we consider them with respect to the history of the times and the merits of the author. Those whose occupations lead them to study the important subject of political œconomy in any of its ramifications, will return with avidity to the perusal of these volumes.

The exemption of the clergy and nobles from the payment of taxes was the theme of M. Turgot's constant animadversion. With the diffidence inseparable from a truly great mind, he concludes one of his remonstrances to the French ministry in the following manner: 'I am ever ready to admit that important changes in a matter so closely connected with public welfare cannot be suggested with too much circumspection and even timidity.'

Although unsuccessful in the accomplishment of his favourite projects of reform, his zeal did not escape the notice of those members of the French government who venerated his talents, although political considerations precluded them from gratifying his enlightened mind in the only way in which their attentions would have been acceptable. The grievances in the financial departments remained unredressed, but M. Turgot was offered the intendency of Lyons, a situation far more splendid and lucrative than that of Limoges. 'I have begun in my present district,' he informs the controller-general, 'a great and important change, without accomplishing any thing as yet; I must confess to you that I cannot abandon it without the most lively emotions of regret.'

We have already mentioned that M. Turgot was an avowed enemy to the privileged orders; the charge of jacobinism against him became proverbial, therefore, with all those who were interested in the continuance of abuses. The obstinacy of the parliaments rejected all efforts at reform, and the constitution at length became a prey to the folly of its supporters. M. Turgot lived to see the enemies of his country crushed under the ruins of the edifice which they had refused to repair, and, what must have been a real satisfaction to his philosophic mind, he saw many of his favourite projects in political œconomy reduced to practice, and witnessed their beneficial effects on the mass of the population.

The district of Limoges, of which M. Turgot was receiver, was among the poorest in France: among his works we find many smaller memoirs, which breathe a spirit of benevolence and humanity, which seldom, perhaps never animates the soul of a collector of the revenue. Almost



every annual statement of his public accounts was accompanied by a supplication for a remission of the arrears of taxes in favour of the poorer inhabitants whom Providence had committed to his care.

The famine which afflicted Limoges in the winter of 1770-71, enabled M. Turgot to bequeath to posterity an additional monument of the superiority of his mind and the extent of his intelligence. Obstacles of every kind stood in the way of the circulation of corn and provisions. A system of corn laws, since abolished, absurd regulations of the police, but above all the prejudices of the courts of justice, the ignorance of the minister then in power, and the popular fury, all were surmounted by his perseverance, and the memoirs drawn up by him on the organization of workhouses and charitable institutions, his instructions to the magistrates and curès, will furnish never-failing lessons for those who are animated by the same patriotic spirit. The same period gave birth to his *Letters on 'the free Circulation of Corn,'* which, from the celebrity they acquired, became a benefit to mankind.

Some contrariety of opinion prevailed about half a century ago in France, on the subject of the legality of certain rates of interest for money borrowed. The judges decided against the popular party, and in favour of what was then called usury. Public commotions took place on the occasion, and M. Turgot, in laying before the minister an account of the disturbances in his own department, has furnished a valuable memoir on the interest of money.

A list of questions respecting China, addressed to two learned Chinese who resided at Paris for the sake of instruction in the European sciences, concludes the sixth and last volume. The comprehensive mind of Turgot was never distracted by avocations of an inferior kind, from the great object of his life and writings; his inquiries respecting China in an eminent degree evince, that if patriotism was with him a virtue, it was the patriotism of a citizen of the world.

We shall hail with pleasure the appearance of the subsequent volumes of the work, and we have no doubt that our readers already participate in our sentiments. The revolutions daily passing before our eyes render the writings of Turgot doubly valuable; we believe that no political author has been more successful in seizing upon the real causes of these important changes.

ART. XII.—*L'Art de converser, &c.*

*he Art of Conversation; a Poem, in one Canto. Paris.*  
8vo. 1809.

MORALISTS have been divided into two sects on the subject of the art of conversation. Pythagoras and his followers prescribed a long continued silence in early life, as best calculated to qualify a man for colloquial eminence. Others contend, that with equal propriety might we educate a *bon-rivant* by accustoming him in his youth to bread and water, as qualify a person to shine in conversation without habituating him in the exercise of speaking.

The anonymous author of the above poem belongs to the Pythagorean sect, in spite of the more modern doctrine of encouraging loquacity. His precepts are of a general nature, and his poem is not long: those who do not think themselves sufficiently masters of the art of conversation will perhaps derive a little assistance from productions of this description, particularly of the French school. We recommend a perusal of Horace's Art of Poetry, however, to the anonymous author, before he again exhibits himself as a candidate for poetical fame.

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ART. XIII.—*Memoires sur la Librairie et sur la Liberté de la Presse, &c.*

*Memoirs on the Book-trade and on the Liberty of the Press.*  
By M. de Lamoignon Malesherbes. 1 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1809.

THE name of Malesherbes, and the subject which now brings him into notice as an author, are sufficiently attractive to interest the general reader. To those who admired the more than Spartan virtue of this truly philosophical lawyer when alive, the present publication must give additional satisfaction.

It is singular that so early as the middle of last century, the French government had turned their attention to the state of the press;—urged to the consideration of the subject, perhaps, by the dissolution of the order of the jesuits, and by a temporary fit of patriotism, they called in the professional assistance of M. Malesherbes to draw up a code of regulations, with a view to give a free license to literary discussion, while at the same time they should tend to curb the licentiousness of authors,

In the year 1759, as we are informed in the preface, M. Malesherbes being then the licenser of all publications in France, was instructed to draw up a series of essays for the instruction of the dauphin son to Louis XV. and father to Louis XVI. of unfortunate memory, and although professedly written as mere lectures to a young prince, on an important branch of politics, they bear evident marks of being intended for a more extended application.

In giving a succinct account of the views of the enlightened author of these memoirs, we hope to furnish some additional hints to those who have made the civil liberties of mankind the peculiar object of their study. We do not mean to say that the doctrines of M. Malesherbes are applicable to all countries, but they breathe a spirit of moderation and liberality, which legislators would do well to keep in view, when sitting in judgment on the rights and privileges of their fellow-subjects.

The first memoir in the collection discusses the abuses of the press, and points out in a general manner the necessity of making new regulations, or of reforming the old. The second essay treats of the fundamental principles on which all regulations relating to literature ought to be founded; and the third points out the description of books that ought to be permitted or tolerated. The author restricts the object of censure to such publications only as are levelled against the religion, manners, or sovereign authority of the state. With respect to books of a licentious tendency in point of morals, such as the *Tales of Lafontaine, &c.* he thinks that a kind of toleration should be allowed them, which he calls *tacit permission*. In this opinion we cannot coincide with M. Malesherbes, nor do we think that even the more luxuriant climate of France ought to tolerate the publication of obscenity.

With respect to every other subject, and particularly where legislation, politics, military or naval tactics, and matters of finance form the subjects of discussion, M. Malesherbes is of opinion that they ought to be permitted to appear at the risk of the authors.

‘Some legal characters may have regarded the publication of elementary books on jurisprudence as an abuse of the liberty of the press: physicians may have declaimed against the production of medical books, in any other than a learned language; men of learning have been found to deprecate all literary criticism; while some persons have roundly asserted that a literary censor became accountable to the public for the faults of the work to which he gave his license.

‘These principles,’ M. Malesherbes informs us, ‘are at variance with all those which ought to enter into the composition of

a good administration. It is impossible that the laws can both punish and prohibit every thing that is bad, and the governors of a state must not, and indeed cannot prevent the publication of what they may be pleased to condemn. If this were the case, literary censors would acquire an unlimited authority over authors. It is time that the latter should be freed from this species of tyranny. Another ground of censorship on authors, which I think ought to be abolished, is that which flows from the principle that currency ought not to be given to errors; but, of all other subjects, the knowledge of truth is the most important, and this will always be forwarded when a free press is established, but never without it. If we prohibit the publication of errors, we stop the progress of truth, because new truths sometimes pass for errors at first sight, and are regarded as such by the judicial authorities as a matter of course. There are a small number of sciences of demonstration: in these we can learn with certainty where the error lies; but in these sciences there is no danger of establishing false principles, because we are certain that they will soon be refuted, if they do not fall into contempt. In the rest of the sciences we are never sure that we are not deceived. Where is the censor who will rashly tell us, I am sufficiently aware of such and such truths, to prevent the public from being deceived by contrary assertion? Who is he who can fix the term of human knowledge as being that at which he has himself arrived, and prohibit all going beyond it, for fear of error? What will become of the republic of letters, if it be subjected to such imperious dictators, men whose ignorance, pride, passions, or prejudices are to be permitted to stifle the germs of the most precious truths?

The fourth memoir has for its object the regulations for preventing the printing or trafficking in prohibited books. The fifth contains an elucidation of what ought to be implied by the term *tacit permission*.

The French editor has truly observed that we are not to expect in these memoirs mere dry and tedious discussions on judicial measures or regulations for the controul of the press. On the contrary, M. Malesherbes philosophically examines the best methods of protecting literature, and enlarging the sphere of human knowledge; but while he inquires into the most proper means to encourage the progress of the human mind, he points out some excellent expedients for opposing the licentiousness of authors by wise and moderate regulations.

It is curious to observe the time-serving spirit of the French literati:—perhaps the imprimatur of the present literary censors in France was withheld until the following confession of faith was penned by the *redacteur* who now presents us with the works of M. Malesherbes.

\* We must not conclude, however, that the times in which M. Malesherbes wrote at all resembled the present. He merely proposed what he thought would be most advantageous to France in the state it then was. Several of his ideas are totally inapplicable to our present situation, and, had he lived, he would, no doubt, have introduced proper modifications into his plans. His memoirs on books and on the liberty of the press are now published, not with the view to present them as authorities, but merely as a supplement to his other works, and as tending to exhibit the peculiar legislative genius of the author.'

But we now come to the most important article of the volume before us. This is a distinct memoir on the liberty of the press, composed, as the author informs us, in the year 1788, at the desire of several distinguished characters, and adapted to the revolutionizing spirit of the times. It was published at the time of the convocation of the *Etats Generaux* in that year.

He has divided this valuable essay into six chapters, each of which professes to discuss a separate question.

The first of these is the following:—'What, in general, are the advantages and disadvantages to a nation attending the liberty of the press?'

M. Malesherbes lays it down as an incontestable principle, that freedom of discussion is the sure, and perhaps the only way to disseminate truth. Printing opens a wide and extensive field for discussion, an arena on which every citizen has a right to enter; the whole nation are the judges, and when this supreme tribunal has been led into error, it is always time to recall it to the paths of truth. The court is never closed: errors exist only for a day, and when freedom of discussion is permitted, truth ultimately prevails. These maxims, which were maintained by the author forty years before, form the basis of his present memoir.

He next examines, in every possible light, the inconveniences which are likely to result from a free press; he is of opinion that literary works *contra bonos mores*, need not be prohibited by express enactment; they are already forbidden by the law of nature, which is the common law of nations; thus, by tolerating a free press, impunity ought not to be held out to those who print what they are not permitted even to utter in public. On the same principle a free press cannot be supposed to hold out impunity to libellers, or to those who exhort the populace to revolt against the government or the religion of their country.

The author inquires in chapter ii. what would be the result of a toleration contrary to the law; i. e. of a system of government in which there are regulations made to prevent



the sale of improper books, and penal laws against delinquents; but in which a certain freedom and license of publishing have obtained, notwithstanding contrary laws or regulations.

In chapter iii. M. Malesherbes elucidates the causes of the establishment in France of this toleration, contrary to express law. No law can be put in force when the whole nation conspires to evade it, and when the government itself is disposed to shut its eyes against the evasion. The laws of France enacted that no book should be printed or sold without an express permission from the government: their imprimatur was refused to such an immense number of necessary books, both of instruction and amusement, that a person who read such books only as were printed under strict legal sanction, was at least a century behind his contemporaries.

The *Henriade* was among the number of those works of real value which were printed openly in other countries, and clandestinely in France; the age of Louis XIV. was in the same predicament, and the *magnanimous* prince, whose name has just been mentioned, would have prosecuted with the most despotic rigour the author and publishers of *Telemachus*, the ornament of the French language. The *Persian Letters* and the *Spirit of Laws* were equally branded as forbidden fruit.

Perhaps no work excited more clamour on the parts of the clergy and magistrates than the French *Encyclopedie*, and yet the plan of this celebrated work was concerted with the Chancellor d'Aguessau, who was regarded as one of the most virtuous and enlightened magistrates of France. Diderot had been introduced to him as one who had the largest share in editing the work, and the chancellor was captivated by some sparks of genius which burst forth in the course of the conversation. He nominated censors to superintend the work, but notwithstanding their approbation, the old Bishop of Mirepoix, the most ardent enemy of innovations, carried his complaints to the king, and exclaimed with crocodile tears, that the church was in danger. Other censors were named for the succeeding volumes, and these were named by the bishop himself. What is very singular, the six volumes revised by those nominees, were equally complained of by the church. The parliament of Paris then took up the subject, and appointed censors in their turn. The former were accused of being Molinists, and it was thought that the parliament would appoint Jansenists. The booksellers then took the alarm, and as the shortest way to avoid a party quarrel, on the publication of every separate volume, they procured the whole work to be clandestinely printed, and it was accordingly

published at once. The zeal of the bigots of all parties gradually died away, and no dispute subsequently arose.

In the following chapters, M. Malesherbes speaks of the best means of preventing libels; here we are presented with a discussion on the important question, whether all books ought to be subjected to a censorship previous to publication, or the law be allowed to interfere in punishing authors and publishers after a libel has been printed.

With exultation we find M. Malesherbes continually reverting to the grand principle with which he sets out, namely, that freedom of discussion is the only method of propagating truth, and that the press ought to be always free, reserving to government or to individuals the right of prosecuting authors for licentiousness. He suggests, however, that the office of literary censor ought by no means to be abolished, in order that well meaning and moral writers may be thereby relieved from all prosecution; but he takes it for granted that in this case such authors as refuse to submit to the revision of a censor, may be at perfect liberty to publish at their own risks.

The enlightened doctrine of toleration in literary matters is inculcated in the following energetic manner:

‘Were we not permitted to publish our sentiments on almost every subject of public interest, it would be impossible to write a single line without running the risk of a criminal process. Not only would it be dangerous to write treatises on morals or metaphysics, but even moral or metaphysical reflections would be interdicted in every publication whatever, because every abstract proposition is too often regarded by those of a contrary opinion as the germ of a punishable offence, and an author can never foresee the moral or religious system of his judges. In the department of history, nothing could be written but dry monotonous chronicles, devoid of all reflections, presenting no picture to the reader, because the author durst not apply the events of antiquity to the present time, lest he should be accused of doing so from malignant motives.’

In the course of the same essay, jurisprudence, natural philosophy, and the belles lettres are represented as being under equal obligations to the liberty of the press.

After this slight sketch of the contents of the volume before us, we have no doubt but that it will be resorted to with avidity and with profit, by those whose views are directed to the philosophy of politics.

ART. XIV.—*Heidelbergische Jahr bücher der Litteratur für Philologie, Historie, &c.*

*Heidelberg Annual Register of Philology, History, general Literature, and Science. 1st and 2d Parts. Heidelberg, 1808. 8vo.*

WE notice this chiefly as being a new periodical publication, which bids fair to excite considerable interest among the admirers of German literature. The printing establishments in most of the German and Prussian states were broken up, and an almost entire cessation of literary communication took place during the occupation of Prussia by the French troops, and while the dismemberment of the German empire was going forward. The literati of Heidelberg have the merit, however, of restoring the much wished for circulation of continental literary intelligence, and from the specimen now published, they deserve much applause.

The *Litteratur Zeitun of Jena* seems to have been their model, and their selection is equally judicious. The present numbers of the work contain a learned paper from the pen of M. Creuzer, on the mutual assistance furnished to each other by philology and mythology. An analysis follows of a valuable work, by M. Wagner, entitled, 'Hints for a general Mythology of the ancient World.' To this succeeds a review of Adelung's ancient History of Germany, by M. Wilker, and a variety of equally interesting articles.

ART. XV.—*Pieces inedites sur les Regnes de Louis XIV. &c.*

*Papers relative to the Reigns of Louis XIV. Louis XV. and Louis XVI. in which are contained Memoirs, historical Notices, and Letters of Louis XIV. Mad. Maintenon, Marshals Villars, Berwick, and Asfeld; to which is subjoined, the Chronique scandaleuse of the Court of the Regent Orleans, written by the Duke of Richlieu, &c. &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1809.*

THE publication of documents relating to the secret history of courts and princes is peculiar to the moderns. In the popular governments of antiquity, the great body of the people had always some share in the management of public affairs; and whatever might be the secret designs of those

who governed them, the means by which they were to attain their objects were necessarily made public. In the monarchical constitutions of modern Europe, on the contrary, where the destinies of the people too often depend on the caprice of a single individual, public events of the greatest importance are brought about by the passions or the secret intrigues of courtiers: the more absolute the government, the more important is the private history of its chief members; and perhaps no better example of this truth can be given, than by referring our readers to the period of the history of France in which the *Pieces inedites* in question are said to have been composed.

The secret history of modern times, therefore, owes much of its importance to the various sudden revolutions which were witnessed in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, for which no contemporary historians were able to assign the true causes. It is not, however, that dignified kind of history which has been called a 'lesson to kings,' and with the exception perhaps of the materials which historians may be able to gather from private documents written with no view to gratify posterity, their publication serves no other purposes than those of lessening the respect of the people for their superiors, or teaching ministers and courtiers the useful art of retaining their places in the midst of cabinet cabals and political intrigues.

There is a certain character or physiognomy, if we may be allowed the expression, by which we are enabled, without the exercise of great depth of judgment, to ascertain the authenticity of papers not intended for public inspection. The little we generally know from history of the private characters of persons who have made some figure in life, furnishes the means of detection, when an attempt is made by an unprincipled bookseller or hungry *redacteur*, to foist upon us a paper tea-board as the shield of Achilles.

With respect to the materials which compose the present volume, we confess that our reliance on them is not implicit. The first *morceau* is a sketch of the character of the great Turenne; said to have been found in the portfolio of Marshal Villars, but we are not informed how nor where this depository of *pieces inedites* was discovered. We are subsequently presented with a few letters from the original owner of the portfolio, to Louis XIV. and to Madame Maintenon, which tell us nothing but what we knew before. To these are subjoined a few scraps respecting the revolution in Great Britain in 1688, several letters written from Spain during the Duke of Richlieu's celebrated embassy to that country, and some notes on the campaign of 1734, from the portfolio

of Marshal Mailly; but still we are not referred to any source by which we can ascertain their authenticity: to all this we may add, that their intrinsic evidence is not sufficiently striking to warrant a blind partiality for their contents.

But if these parts of the work are fabrications, the most scandalous and unprincipled of the whole is reserved for the conclusion. This is a farrago of obscenity and dulness, to which the title of *Chronique scandaleuse* has been given with the praiseworthy view of procuring its admission into the closets of readers of a certain description. We can assure them, however, that if their patience carries them beyond the second page, they will find nothing peculiarly novel nor *piquant* throughout the whole of the performance. The Duchess de Berry is made to act over again the indecencies of Messalina, and the hero of the piece apes the enormities of Caligula; in all this there is nothing new, and yet it might pass for the diary of a debauchee like Richlieu, were it not for a few slips in the memory of the real author, which strike directly against its authenticity. Throughout the whole of the piece, the duke is made to speak in the first person, but on one unlucky occasion, in which his examination before the police magistrate at the Bastille is alluded to, we are told that '*le duc de Richlieu se défendit, avec un courage étonnant!*' In other words, the duke is astonished at his own courage before a public officer! The expression *ma femme*, when speaking of the duchess, continually recurs in the course of this scandalous production; we believe that the etiquette inseparable from a Frenchman of his rank, would have entitled his wife on all occasions to the appellation of Madame de Richlieu. These are a few only of the traits by which a reader of common discrimination will be enabled to form his judgment of the claims to originality set up in the title-page of the work.

It would be rather bold to pronounce decidedly that the whole contents of these volumes are the creatures of some Parisian book-maker's fertile imagination. On the contrary, we are disposed to believe that the portfolio of some eminent personage has fallen into the hands of one of these caterers for the booksellers of Paris. It is our duty, however, to caution the English reader against manufactures of French origin, more particularly when we suspect them to be contraband.



ART. XVI.—*Mon premier Pas, &c.*

*My first Step.* By T. De Lafosse. Paris, 8vo. 1809.

THE contemporary lyric poets of France keep pace with our English votaries of the muse, in their eagerness to exhibit themselves out of leading-strings. M. De Lafosse is one of those *dii minorum gentium* who swarm at the foot of Parnassus, and content themselves with penning sonnets 'to their mistress's eyebrows;' his volume teems therefore with poetical scraps under the common-place titles of '*Declarations,*' '*Souvenirs,*' '*Songes,*' '*Jouissances,*' '*Ruptures,*' '*Raccommodemens.*'

Some of these pieces, however, have their merits, and such of our readers as delight in the sonnet which has love for its theme, will find some pleasing French verses among them. We select a specimen from '*Le Couvent.*'

' Salut, voûte silencieuse,  
Cloître lugubre où la beauté  
Regrette, captive rêveuse,  
Les beaux jours de sa liberté ;  
Où, sous le cilice inutile,  
Plus d'une nonnette indocile,  
Cédant à de profanes vœux,  
Se damne, pécheresse habile,  
Sur la route même des cieux.  
Salut, jardin, heureuse place  
Où, de l'habituelle grace  
Fuyant le mystique secours,  
Jeune sœur avec les amours,  
Vient chercher la grâce efficace,  
Salut, barrières du désir,  
Murailles à l'amant rebelles ;  
Heureusement pour vous franchir,  
Cupidon conserve ses ailes.'

The piece in question proceeds to inform us, that when convents existed in France, the *chère amie* of the author was immured in one of these sepulchres of animated beauty : *omnia vincit amor*, however ; and M. De Lafosse regularly scaled the garden walls every evening, to enjoy a midnight tête à tête with this '*nonnette indocile.*' Hymen is in due time called in to make the lovers happy, and, as usual, death intrudes on the harmony of the scene; leaving M. de Lafosse without a helpmate.

The piece entitled '*Les Souvenirs,*' is not without its beauties, although unmarked by any novelty of sentiment, or peculiar brilliancy of language.

ART. XVII.—*Dictionnaire des Arrêts modernes, &c.*

*Dictionary of modern Decisions, or Analytical Repertory of the new French Code of Jurisprudence, civil and commercial. By M. Loiseau. Paris. 2 vols. 8vo. 1809.*

THE admirers of the Napoleon code will find ample cause to be ashamed of their favourable impressions, on a perusal of the present volumes. It does not appear that the spirit of litigation has as yet taken its flight from that mighty empire, over which the 'genius of legislation' (as Napoleon was styled on the promulgation of the code which goes by his name) presides. The 'glorious uncertainty of the law' still wages a doubtful war with the property of individuals in France as well as in other countries; and the code Napoleon, although intended, as a French writer elegantly expresses it, '*pour rogner les griffes de la chicane*,' has sharpened instead of paring the claws of the monster.

Upwards of 10,000 decisions on points of doubtful application to the code Napoleon are crowded into these volumes, and our readers will, no doubt, be aware that the publication of the legal arguments will tend greatly to increase the business of the French courts. The numerous family of the lawyers resemble in some respects the sacred crocodiles of the Nile; their maintenance seems to be tacitly provided for in the constitutions of modern Europe, and the collectors of decisions are the high priests, who bring the sacrifices to the altar.

The form of a dictionary, which has been judiciously given to the present work, must render it popular, even beyond the confines of those states in which the new system of jurisprudence has been adopted. At one glance we are thus enabled to obtain a knowledge of the French laws on any given subject, and the decisions of the Tribunal de Cassation and the Courts of Appeal are subjoined. Upon the whole, we consider the *Dictionnaire des Arrêts* as equivalent in importance in France, to Jacob's Law Dictionary in this country; with this exception, that we think the French editor has the merit of superior perspicuity and conciseness, and his work is of course better suited to the generality of readers, neither is his phraseology so technical as that of law writers in general.

ART. XVIII.—*Galerie historique des Hommes les plus celebres, &c.*

*Gallery of Portraits of eminent Men of all Ages and Nations, engraved from the most authentic Likenesses, and accompanied with biographical Sketches and critical Observations. By a Society of Literati. Published by J. P. Landon, of the Academies of Rome and Paris, &c. &c. 12 vols. folio. Paris. 1809. London, Dulau.*

SEVERAL years have elapsed since the commencement of this magnificent work, and we have now to announce its completion. It has been already observed by foreign critics, that all the portraits in the above collection cannot lay claim to an equal degree of authenticity; and, upon referring to the work itself, which is alphabetically arranged, we confess we were rather astonished to find portraits of Annibal, Amilcar, St. Augustin, St. Athanasius, and Attila the Hun. We leave it to our antiquarian readers to decide upon the authenticity of the originals from which these portraits may have been copied: in the mean time M. Landon has prudently ushered them into the world, without a clue by which to detect his pious fraud.

The biographical part of the work is in general well executed. On turning to the account of the father of English painting, Sir Joshua Reynolds, we find it written in a strain of impartiality, if not panegyric, which we did not expect from a Frenchman and a painter. The life of Wouvermans is written in the same candid manner, and does great honour to M. Landon's liberality.

As announced in the title, the biographical part of the work has been furnished by a great variety of authors. Among the signatures we recognize that of M. Millin, whose name stands high in the literary history of the present century, as an antiquarian and scholar. He is the editor of the *Magazin Encyclopedique*, published at Paris, one of the most valuable publications on the continent.

The Napoleon Museum has largely contributed to the size and value of the *Galerie historique*, and the admirer of the remains of Roman ingenuity will be highly gratified by the inspection of the work. The engravings of the eminent personages of Greece and Rome have been all collated with original coins, busts, &c. in the imperial collection at Paris.

With the last volume is given a very useful table of contents, divided into five columns. In the first we find the names in alphabetical order; in the second their respective claims to celebrity are briefly given; in the third and fourth the year of their birth and that of their death; and the fifth contains the era and the country in which they flourished.

ART. XIX.—*Esprit des Ecrivains du 18 Siecle, &c.*

*Spirit of the Authors of the 18th Century; being Part of a Work intended for Publication, entitled 'The History of the Language and Literature of France.' By F. G. de la Rochefaucauld, Sub-prefect of Clermont. 8vo. Paris. 1809. London, Dulau, Soho Square.*

M. DE LA ROCHEFAUCAULD ushers his present volume into the world as a kind of forlorn hope to storm the out-works of public favour. We do not think, however, that he has made a practicable breach for the reception of his larger work.

With respect to the present performance, it bears evident marks, if not of depraved taste, at least of judgments hastily formed. We presume the author will find many antagonists to his opinions, that Crebillon has shewn himself far superior to Corneille and Racine, and that Duclos, confessedly one of the best historical writers that France ever saw, 'neither succeeds in instructing nor in correcting, because his writings require a closer attention than a person can bestow who reads only for amusement.'

We could wish, for the sake of literature in general, that these were the only faults with which M. de la Rochefaucauld could be charged. He has others of a deeper die, namely, illiberality and an occasional deviation from truth. He has thought it essential to his subject to enter into the private lives of the authors whom he notices, and we regret to find that the aberrations from moral rectitude, which have distinguished several eminent literary characters, are revived by their present biographer; in the spirit rather of malignity than of fair criticism. A kind of courtesy, when speaking of the dead, is universally recognised, nor ought this feeling to be confined to the 'hic jacet' of their sepulchral monuments.

We shall leave M. de la Rochefaucauld in the hands of our readers, with a specimen of the severity of his criticism, taken from his account of the celebrated Rousseau.

'Rousseau flourished almost at the beginning of the century: his rich, expressive, and harmonious versification distinguished him as a poet. But this undutiful son, who, by denying his father, called his own legitimacy in question;—this treacherous friend, who, after secretly injuring his social companions, sought to establish his innocence, by suborning witnesses, has stamped every line of his works with his own detestable character.'

It is necessary to mention, what the author has perhaps in his haste forgotten, that although the title-page seems to promise a general view of the state of literature during the 18th century, the lucubrations of M. de la Rochefaucauld are confined to the works of French writers.

ART. XX.—*Barthele, ou encore une Victime de la Jalousie, &c. les Souvenirs de Barthele, &c.*

*Barthele, or another Victim of Jealousy: the Recollections of Barthele. To which is subjoined, an Essay on parental Authority. By M. Duronceray. Paris. 4 vols. 12mo. 1808-9. London, Dulau, Soho Square.*

THESE volumes have a better claim to attention than the generality of French novels which it has recently fallen to our lot to notice. Their interest has been considerably heightened in the coteries of Paris by its being whispered that they contain the real adventures of the author, and of course describe characters still moving in society. A brief outline of the contents will enable our readers to form an expectation of the kind of entertainment their perusal will afford.

Barthele marries early, becomes the father of seven children, and experiences the sweets of domestic comfort for upwards of twelve years; a fit of jealousy seizes the object of his choice, he is dragged before the tribunals, and a sentence of divorce is pronounced on evidence which afterwards appears to have been suborned. Barthele then becomes a voluntary exile, and having visited a neighbouring country, distracted with civil wars, takes a command in a body of rebels, in which he performs prodigies of valour. The flames of discord at length reach his native place, and he learns that his father's life is in danger; he flies to his assistance, and placing himself at the head of the insurgents, has the good fortune to protect the person and property of his parent from injury, and finally succeeds in allaying the popular ferment.

While enjoying the society of his paternal fire-side in tranquillity, Barthele is made acquainted with the repentance of his wife, whom he prepares to receive with his children once more; by a series of disasters, however, they are separated for ever, an epidemic disorder having carried off the mother and surviving children on their way to the scene of reconciliation. Barthele then gives himself up to the study of philosophy, and produces *les Souvenirs*, which compose the third and fourth volumes of M. Duronceray's labours.

*Les Souvenirs de Barthele* are a collection of essays on men and manners, from the perusal of which it is impossible to rise without acknowledging ourselves under considerable obligations to their author. The pure morality which they seek to inculcate is the more pleasing, because we are not accustomed to view similar literary efforts in the modern authors of France; and we recommend the perusal of '*L'Athée*



*converti*,' as a specimen of composition which does credit to the present state of French literature.

The Essay on the extent of parental authority, which concludes the volumes, is not perhaps striking on account of its novelty; it may be regarded, however, as an excellent epitome of legal and historical authorities on the subject.

*Digest of English Literature, for the last  
four Months.*

THEOLOGY.

MR. VEYSIE, in his 'Examination of Mr. Marsh's hypothesis, respecting the origin of the three first gospels,' has opposed the theory of that gentleman with great force of argument; and has suggested another hypothesis, which appears to furnish a better solution of the numerous difficulties of the important question. That there never existed such a document as Dr. Marsh supposes, is, we think, as certain as moral probabilities can render any thing; and Mr. Vey sie has very clearly and very ably shewn that the supposition will not account for the phenomena. Mr. Vey sie, instead of a single document, on which Dr. Marsh grounds his hypothesis, supposes a plurality of documents. He thinks that many narratives of detached parts of our Saviour's history were written before our present canonical gospels were composed. Mr. Vey sie supposes that these insulated narratives were written by persons who had heard them delivered by the apostles, and who were piously anxious to preserve some lasting record of that which they had taught. That some of these narratives might take their rise in this manner we think highly probable, but, if we were to advance an opinion on the subject, we should suppose that the majority of these detached narratives were written with more or less copiousness of detail by contemporaries of Jesus, who heard and saw what he said and did. We think that this is very evident in some of the detached narratives which have been incorporated in the gospels, and Luke's expression, *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν*, &c. &c. seems to corroborate the opinion. While Jesus was teaching at Capernaum and other places, is it not likely that some partial and insulated accounts of what he said and did would be drawn up to be sent to his adherents, or even to his enemies at Jerusalem?

## HISTORY.

The 'Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain,' which has been published by the brother of Sir John Moore, contains a fair, circumstantial, and accurate account, founded on or composed of original documents, of the campaign of that lamented general on the peninsula, with the causes of its failure, and the gross mismanagement in the Spanish councils, as well as in those of this country, to which it may be ascribed. This work places the character of Sir John Moore in a very amiable and interesting point of view. It shews him to have considered the *lives* of his men as a sacred deposit which he was not wantonly to risk, without any adequate object of possible or of probable attainment. If he erred, it was rather on the side of caution than temerity. He seems to have considered and reconsidered every measure which he embraced, and with the utmost nicety to have calculated the chances of failure or success in every attempt. By some he may be thought to have been too wary and calculating; but the circumstances in which he was placed, and the treachery and falsehood against which he had to contend, rendered this conduct peculiarly requisite; and if he had been more rash and enterprising, it is highly probable that every man in his army would have been either captured or destroyed.—Mr. Ormsby's account of the operations of the British army, &c. in Portugal and Spain, during the campaigns of 1808 and 1809, form two very amusing volumes, and contain matter of permanent as well as temporary interest.—Molina's geographical, natural, and civil History of Chili abounds with much curious and important information relative to that part of the Spanish South American colonies. The account which the author has given of the hardy and persevering struggles which the Araucanians maintained against the Spaniards during a long course of years, in defence of their liberties and independence, is a very interesting portion of his work. If the Spaniards themselves would maintain their own national independence against the aggressions of the French with the same intrepid constancy, we should not despair of their ultimate triumph over their cruel and perfidious enemies.

## BIOGRAPHY.

In his 'Essay on the earlier Part of the Life of Swift,' Mr. Barret has scraped together, with pious scrupulosity, some few particulars relative to the academical life of Swift, which were hardly worth the labour of rescuing from oblivion: Whether the author of Gulliver's Travels were expelled from Tri-

nity College, or whether he suffered a milder punishment, it is of little moment to inquire. The tripos which occupies no small portion of this small volume bears such strong internal evidence of its original, that Dr. Barret might readily have ascribed it to Swift, without being liable to any imputation of temerity. This piece is curious, only as it shows that the juvenile mind of Swift had the same propensity to nastiness of ideas, which he so often and disgustingly evinced in a later period of life.—The ‘*Biographical Peerage of the Empire of Great Britain*’ contains some impartial sketches of those persons in the noble families of these realms who have rendered themselves conspicuous by their good or evil conduct.—The *Life of Romney* has been very pleasingly portrayed by his old and affectionate friend, Mr. Hayley. This biographical work has the usual faults of Mr. Hayley’s style, but these are more than compensated by good qualities of another kind—a liberality of sentiment, a love of truth, and a judgment well matured and generally correct.

### VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Mr. Pinkney’s ‘*Travels through the South of France,*’ &c. furnish some amusing particulars relative to the present state of manners, civilization, and culture in that country. Mr. Pinkney is one of those travellers who bound lightly over the surface of things, without affecting any great profundity or labour of research. But the information, which he collected on his route, he has communicated to his readers in that easy and pleasing style, which tends to cause good humour during the perusal of a work.—In the two last numbers of this vol. and in the first number of vol. xix. we have given a very copious account of the *Voyages and Travels of Lord Valentia*. We allotted more space to this work than we usually do to any single publication, first, because we think that accounts of voyages and travels are calculated to please a great variety of readers; and secondly, because the high price of these volumes is likely to confine the perusal to the limited circle of the opulent. The travels of Lord Valentia in countries which are comparatively but little known cannot but excite very general curiosity. The imperfect analysis which we have executed of the work will show how far this is likely to be gratified. The narrative is altogether entertaining, though the entertainment which it affords is rather of that chit-chat kind which passes lightly off the memory, than that which fixes serious attention, and leaves behind it much matter for the digestive process of intellectual assimilation. His lordship does not seem to reflect very deeply him-

self, and his three ample quartos are hardly interspersed with any observations which set the thinking faculty at work. But if his lordship do not display any of the powers of a reflecting mind, he does not at least discolour his narrative by the sickly hues of that sentimental malady which causes our modern tourists so often to recline their drooping heads on the margin of some purling stream. This whimpering luxuriance of sentiment is not one of the defects of his lordship's work. The principal defect may perhaps be traced rather to excess of vanity, than to any superior or affected nicety of sensitive combinations. His lordship, as we have more than once instanced, is too fond of cumbering his page with a superfluous recital of the ceremonial homage which he received from the different men of rank whom he visited on his route. His lordship enumerates these frivolous particulars with such evident complacency, that no reader of common discernment can fail to remark that this is his lordship's *weak side*. But if his merit as a traveller be measured by the extent of land and sea which he traversed, many persons will not be found who can dispute the superiority of his lordship in this particular species of excellence. Whether, if other travellers had possessed the same advantages which were enjoyed by his lordship, they would not have turned them to better account, can be matter only of probable speculation. But whatever parts of his lordship's splendid work may leave us to regret, or cause us to condemn, that portion of it which is extracted from the journal of Mr. Salt is entitled to unqualified commendation. If the merits of Mr. Salt be thrown, as they ought in part, into the scale of his employer, the merits of Lord Valentia as a traveller will endure a comparison with any of his contemporaries, and with most of his predecessors. In noticing these voyages and travels of his lordship, we ought not to omit that he merits great praise for his adventurous pertinacity in exploring the perilous western coast of the Red Sea, and for the chart of his voyage, which will probably lessen the dangers of future navigators.—The 'Travels of Captains Lewis and Clarke, from St. Louis by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, to the Pacific Ocean,' are both amusing and instructive. They throw much light on the manners, habits, and divisions of the Indian North American tribes. The general character of those savages, as it is depicted by these apparently impartial observers, seems to comprize many estimable qualities, and may even furnish some edifying hints and sober admonitions to those who seem to have advanced far beyond them in the race of civilized life.

## POLITICS.

The 'Vindication of the Hindoos [from the Aspersions of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan,' &c. &c. which has been published by a Bengal officer, in two parts, is a work of considerable ability and penetration, and constitutes altogether the best defence of the moral system of the Hindoos, and of its general influence on the lives and habits of the people, that has yet appeared. We trust that the frantic scheme of some pragmatical visionaries for overturning the whole religious system of the east will no more receive any thing like countenance from the English government in Hindostan. A scheme more pregnant with political mischief, and more perilous to the stability of the British ascendancy in that part of the world was never conceived, either by friends or foes. There is still a large class of religionists in the world, who, when they contemplate the end, disregard the means, and who adhere to the maxim of doing evil that good may come. We have little doubt but that many of the visionaries who engaged in the wild project of christianizing India would have thought it worth while to purchase a few nominal conversions at the expence of torrents of blood. The destruction of superstition in all parts of the world, and not only in Europe but in India, will, we have no doubt, be ultimately but gradually and slowly achieved, not by the mouths of *saints* belching out the fumes of intolerance, but by the calm and steady exertions of the press. This is the instrument by which the moral and political regeneration of man will be ultimately accomplished. This is the mighty lever which will raise the present state of man to a more exalted sphere of intelligence, of virtue, and of happiness.—Mr. Canning's two letters to Earl Camden are a sort of political raree-show: they divulge some of the craft and mystery of *statesmanship*, and show by what little minds great nations may be governed.

PHILOSOPHY, MORAL, PHYSICAL, AND  
METAPHYSICAL.

In this volume we have paid a good deal of attention to Mr. Kirwan's 'Metaphysical Essays,' and in our account of them have taken occasion to vindicate the moral liberty of man, against the advocates for necessity, and to defend the Berkleyan system of metaphysics. This work of Mr. Kirwan is chiefly occupied with an explanation of terms, which may render it of considerable use to the metaphysical student. Mr. Kirwan is an able and strenuous Berkleyan.



## MEDICINE.

Under this head we have first to notice Dr. Lambe's Treatise on the 'Effects of a peculiar Regimen in cancerous Ulcers.' This work will probably constitute a new era in the history of medicine, and we shall henceforth have two classes of physicians; those who attempt to cure diseases by drugs, and those who make the same attempt by means of dietetic regimen. Dr. Lambe will be placed at the head of the last. This work of the doctor tends to render it in some degree probable that not only cancer and other inveterate maladies may be cured; but that health may be preserved and life prolonged by the habitual use of distilled water, and of a farinaceous and vegetable diet, to the exclusion of all animal food. More numerous experiments are wanting to establish the theory of Dr. Lambe; and we hope that they will be made, for the subject itself is intimately connected with the best interests of mankind. A dispensary for the cure of cancer, scrofula, and consumption (which are probably only different modifications of the same principle of disease) by means of the regimen which are recommended by Dr. Lambe, would serve to ascertain the truth or falsehood of his theory, in a shorter time and with more certainty as to the result, than could be obtained in a much longer period by the detached cases which may occur in the practice of the few individuals who may be willing to adopt this new method, from an honest conviction of the inefficacy of the old. The treatment which Dr. Lambe recommends is at any rate safe, and is not like those strong pharmaceutical nostrums, which, if they do no good to the patient, are likely to inflict a permanent injury on the constitution.—The New Pharmacopœia of the Royal College of Physicians has been translated by Dr. Powel, who has added some notes which contain much valuable matter and some useful tables; but he has committed some inexcusable blunders in calculating the doses of more active and deleterious drugs. We have noticed these in the review of the work. If this new pharmacopœia of the college be regarded as a criterion of the progress of medicine, and as a standard of its present state as practised in this country, we must confess that it causes us to entertain but a very low opinion either of the more recent improvements in, or of the actual condition of, the healing art. This art, notwithstanding the changes which have been introduced into our several pharmacopœias, seems not to have acquired any new or more efficacious instrument. The number of specifics remains as it was; and of most of the other remedies, the operation is so uncertain and delusive, that no dependence can be placed

on their application. Medicine seems at present, as it has ever been, a *conjectural art*.—In his ‘*Observations on Fungus Hæmatodes*,’ Mr. Wardrop has furnished some useful helps towards the discrimination of that truly formidable disease.

### POETRY.

Mr. Hodgson has made a considerable addition to our stock of poetical amusement by his tale of ‘*Lady Jane Grey*,’ and his ‘*English Miscellanies*.’ Mr. Hodgson must be allowed to be a writer of considerable natural genius, highly improved by classical culture. This is very apparent in his imagery, sentiments, and diction.—The ‘*Latin and Italian Poems of Milton*, translated into English verse by the late Wm. Cowper, Esq.’ display the characteristic defects and excellences of that writer. Of some of these poems of our great epic bard, the translation of Dr. Symmons is preferable to that of Cowper.—The Rev. Wm. Lisle Bowles has published a fourth volume of poems, which are evidently cast in the same mould of sentiment as the preceding.—Mr. Peter Pry’s ‘*Marmion travestied*,’ is a sprightly and humorous performance.—Mr. Morrice has published another translation of the *Iliad* of Homer into blank verse, which has only added to our previous conviction of the fruitless labour of such attempts.—Mr. Hobhouse’s volume of *Imitations, Translations, and original Poems* contains a good deal of beautiful poetry, but with one tale, which is very reprehensible on the score of indelicacy, and which tends, to use his own language, ‘to scandalize virtue and do violence to the feelings of innocence and youth.’—Mr. Shee’s poem, entitled ‘*Elements of Art*,’ is a continuation of his former work called ‘*Rhymes on Art*.’ Mr. Shee seems to compose with extraordinary facility; and this facility is apt to degenerate into negligence; so that the author often violates some of his own rules. Exuberance of imagery seems the characteristic of his mind, and this is usually productive both of great beauties and defects. But the beauties predominate in this production of Mr. Shee. Less profusion of ornament and luxuriance of expression would, however, enhance his merit as a writer, both in verse and prose.

### NOVELS.

The ‘*Soldier’s Orphan*,’ by Mrs. Castello, is a tale which evinces much knowledge of life, and a great love of virtue. The characters are natural and well drawn; and it is alto-

gether a work which our young female friends may peruse with benefit.—Some ability and much good sense are exhibited in the novel of Euston.—Miss Edgeworth's *Tales of fashionable Life* display no common acquaintance with the involutions of the human heart. She paints human nature, such as it is found in the common intercourse of life, and though some of her delineations approach to the verge of caricature, yet they are never so far merged in it as to receive any monstrous distortions, or to lose all resemblance to actual existences. Her moral portraiture is not impalpable abstractions, but visible and tangible concretes in the busy drama of life. Miss Edgeworth possesses great vivacity of sentiment, and that felicity of combination, which is one of the brilliant appendages of genius. Her humour is more gay than satiric, and excites the sensation of pleasantry rather than contempt. Her command over the risible faculties of her readers is very great; but while they feel inclined to laugh at her odd or well contrasted assemblages of ideas, they are usually impressed at the same time with the sentiment of admiration at the nicety of her discrimination and the acuteness of her remarks.—The fictions of romance are blended with the accuracy of historical details in the '*Don Sebastian*' of Miss Porter. This is rather an unnatural union, and is usually found to diminish the interest of both. Considering the work of Miss Porter merely as a fiction, we think that she merits ample praise for the combination of the incidents, the development of the story, and the delineation of the characters.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Epistolary Correspondence of Bishop Nicholson*, which has lately been published by Mr. Nichols, contains much desultory information, and many amusing particulars relative to the literary pursuits of some eminent scholars and antiquaries of the age.—We have noticed the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the '*Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet*,' which is in its kind a work of more than common excellence.—The author of '*Facts and Experiments on the Use of Sugar in feeding Cattle*' is perhaps rather too sanguine in his expectations of the benefits which are likely to result from the mode which he has recommended. But the observations of the writer are still highly deserving the attention of the public; and though his theory should be practicable only to a very limited extent, much benefit must result to the community from its adoption.—We have bestowed a good deal of attention in this volume on the *Letters of Warburton to Hurd*.

These letters, from the numerous topics of general interest and literary curiosity which they embrace, are likely to outlive the other and larger works of this once redoubted critic and divine. They are on the whole a very instructive and entertaining work, and exhibit the character of Warburton himself in the most amiable point of view.—The epistolary correspondence of Sir Richard Steele is chiefly valuable, as elucidating the domestic relations and real character of the author of the *Tatler*.—The Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu are very eloquent compositions. They are both grave and gay, and contain matter that may both edify and amuse. Though written as the occasion prompted, and on no particular subject of literature or policy, yet her sprightliness is so animating, her turns are so ingenious, her wit so brilliant, or her remarks so acute, that the attention never languishes during the perusal.

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*Account of the last Book-fair at Leipsic.*

THE great annual book-fair held at Leipsic in October last was attended by fewer purchasers than usual.

One hundred and seventy-eight booksellers from various parts of Europe exhibited their literary novelties for sale, and from a catalogue published by M. Weidman, an eminent bookseller of Leipsic, it appears, that of the new books offered for sale, 715 were German, and 62 in the other European languages. Among the former works 115 were new editions of books of repute, 79 were almanacks and journals, and the rest were partly composed of continuations of various works, and partly of compilations and books of education; of these last the number exceeded that of any former year: a proof perhaps that the new order of things in Germany is peculiarly favourable to the progress of knowledge.

Among the works which are worthy of notice, we have to mention a History of the French Revolution by M. Baczko, of Königsberg; History of Poetry and Eloquence by M. Bouterwerk: a Journey from Holstein into Franconia and Bavaria, by M. Eggers; the History of Literature, by M. Eichhorn of Göttingen; the Life of Ariosto, by M. Fornow; Poems by M. de Halem; the continuation of the Works of Herder and Huber; Lectures by M. Lichtenberg; the Journal of M. Memniclis' Travels; Confidential Letters on Vienna, by M. Reichard, author of a similar work on Paris; Sermons by M. Reinhard of Dresden; some Works on Education, according to M. Pestalozzi's system, by M.

Schmid; a Treatise on Belles Lettres, by M. Schreiber; a Journey in Upper Austria, by M. Schultz; M. Vater on the Population of America; M. Weinbrenner on the Architecture of Theatres; some excellent Works on Philology, by Schutz, Haget, Zimmerman, Schœfer, Lenness, Heindorf, &c.

Fifty-seven new novels or romances have been produced during the year. The most popular of these, '*Die Wahl-verwandschaften*,' 'the Choice of Friends' is from the veteran pen of M. Goethe. The names of Lafontaine, Wagner, Voss, &c. also appear on the title-pages of some works of this description, and M. Kotzebue has published a new volume of Tales and Romances. The story of the unfortunate Schill and his followers has also been wrought into a volume by an anonymous author, and given to the public under the title of *Schilliana*. It has been classed by the German critics, from prudential motives, under the head of novels and romances.

The number of new dramatic pieces introduced on the German stage during the year was 22, but none of them are conspicuous either for intrinsic merit, or from being the production of any dramatist of note.

#### ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

ART. XXIII.—*Dissertatio de Corona Regum Italia, vulgo ferrea dicta, &c.*

*Dissertation on the Crown of the Kings of Italy, commonly called the Iron Crown. By Christopher de Murr. With Engravings. Munich, 1808. 8vo.*

THE author of this performance is well known in the learned world as an antiquarian of some celebrity, and has chosen, on this occasion, a curious subject. On the 26th of May, 1805, the French emperor was crowned king of Italy at Milan, and his brows were encircled with the ancient crown of the Lombards, commonly known by the appellation of the Iron Crown. The present dissertation commences with the etymology of the word Lombards (*Longobardi*); and proceeds to an historical review of their history, with an account of the different authors who have written on the subject. The description of a diadem which has made so much noise, from having so many regal possessors, will perhaps be amusing to some of our readers. It is six inches in diameter, and two inches and a quarter high. It is com-



posed of seven pieces, some larger than others; and it is adorned with eighteen precious stones and seventy-two pearls. These pieces are of gold, joined together by a rim of iron, six lines high, surrounding the crown in the inside: it is said that this iron rim was made of one of the nails of the cross of our Saviour; and it is this circumstance which gives the name of Iron Crown.

With respect to the antiquity of this precious relic, M. de Murr, after quoting the opinions of a host of ancient authors on the subject, gives it as his own opinion, that it cannot be referred to a more early period than that of king Agilulf, who flourished in the 6th and 7th centuries; and that it was made on the occasion of crowning the son of Agilulf, Aldouald, who was then only eleven years of age: in this opinion he is somewhat borne out by the small dimensions of the Iron Crown.

In a subsequent division of the work M. de Murr discusses the antiquity of two other crowns of gold, called the crowns of Agilulf and Theodelinda his queen. These have been preserved, along with the Iron Crown, in the church of St. John the Baptist, at Menya. The crown, known by the name of king Agilulf's, was brought to Paris in 1797, and deposited in the Cabinet of Antiques of the National Library, but was carried off and melted down by thieves in 1804. It was eight inches in diameter, and three inches and a quarter high: the figure of our Saviour sealed was carved on it, holding up his right hand, and with an open book in his left: on each side was an angel, and the rest of the border was occupied by the twelve apostles sealed also; above these figures the crown was adorned with sixty-five precious stones, and at its two extremities were one hundred and fifty-eight pearls: under the figures was the following inscription:—✠ AGILVF. GRAT. DI. VIR. GLOR. REX. TOTIVS. ITAL. OFFERET SCO. IOHANNI BAPTISTE. IN. ECCLA. MODICJA. To this crown was suspended a golden cross, ornamented with ten precious stones and eleven pearls, independently of seven other pearls which hung at its extremities. The gold crown of queen Theodelinda was six inches and a half in diameter, and two inches high; a gold cross was also suspended from it, enriched with thirty-six pearls and eighteen precious stones. This crown and its appendages are still in the cabinet of the imperial library: the Iron Crown was carried to Milan in 1805, to be used at the ceremony of crowning Napoleon.

The different Lombard and Italian kings and emperors of Germany, who were crowned with the iron diadem, are mentioned, accompanied with a brief account of their reign.

The plates given with the work consist of representations of the crowns described ; and there is also an engraving of a gold medal, with the head of Luitprand, king of the Lombards, with the legend LVITPRANDUS on one side, and on the other the archangel Michael, tutelar of the Lombards, holding in his hand a lancet surmounted by three small globes, with the legend SCS. MICHAEL (sanctus Michael).

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ART. XXIV.—*De'le Torbiere esistenti nel Dipartimento d'Olona, &c.*

*Description of the Soil in the Department of Olona, given with a View to shew the Resources for Fuel in the Turf and Moss of that District. By Carlo Amoretti. Milan, 1808.*

WE notice this work, partly because the name of Amoretti, as the biographer of Leonardo da Vinci, stands high on the continent, and partly because its contents exhibit a most valuable mineralogical survey. The scarcity of wood throughout Italy induced the government to patronise M. Amoretti's researches on this occasion ; and he has at least succeeded in shewing the application, if he has not the merit of the discovery, of a very useful and abundant article of domestic necessity. With the work he has given a map of the mossy districts, and several plates, explanatory of the best methods of converting all kinds of turf or moss into fuel. These will be found to be novel to an English reader.

AN

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**Combe**—L'Histoire des Romains, par Demandes et par Reponses. Par Mad. Regnault de la Combe. 5s.

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**Edinburgh (The) Encyclopedia**, vol. II. part I.

**Fray**—The Narrative of the Rev.

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